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A
PRESERVATIVE AGAINST POPERY,

IN SEVERAL
Select Discourses
UPON THE
PRINCIPAL HEADS OF CONTROVERSY
BETWEEN
PROTESTANTS AND PAPISTS:

BEING WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED
By the most eminent Divines of the Church of England,
CHIEFLY IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

COLLECTED BY
THE RIGHT REV. EDMUND GIBSON, D.D.
SUCCESSIVELY LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN AND LONDON,
[B. 1669, D. 1748.]

CAREFULLY REVISED AND EDITED
FOR THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES
OF THE REFORMATION,
BY
THE REV. JOHN CUMMING, D.D.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN presenting the first volume of BISHOP GIBSON'S PRESERVATIVE to the reader, the Editor begs to express his obligations to the Rev. J. Mendham, of Sutton Coldfield, whose suggestions have been most valuable.

The brackets at the foot of each page, containing the verifications of the original references, are the results of arduous and persevering labour, partly in the British Museum, and chiefly in the Clerical Library of Mr. Darling, in Little Queen Street, whose collection of Divinity—conciliar, patristic, and scholastic—as well as personal attention as librarian, the Editor gratefully acknowledges. The references in the old and scarce editions of Gibson are so loose, and often so inaccurate, as to be almost useless. In this edition the Protestant reader will find references he may safely rely on, or very easily verify, and those alone who, like the Editor, have taken a part in the Romish controversy, can appreciate the importance of such references. The Editor may venture to add, that those who have not subscribed to this edition, will be the first to regret the omission, and those who are in possession of it will not be sorry they were ready to encourage it.

J. C.

LONDON,
January, 1848.



THE [ORIGINAL] PREFACE.

THERE is little need to bespeak the reader's approbation of this design. The usefulness of it, and the eminence of the writers of the several Discourses of which it consists, and the occasion there is to guard against the growth of Popery at this time, are considerations which will offer themselves to every one at first sight.

I. The Popish Controversy in the reign of James the Second, and its producing many excellent treatises in defence of the Protestant religion, are general matters, of which none are ignorant. But as soon as that storm was blown over, the Controversy and the Discourses it occasioned were laid aside; and it is not to be wondered, that after fifty years and upwards, so few of those Discourses are to be met with; and scarce any tolerable collections of them, except such as happened to be made by some curious persons at the time; and these remaining in so very few hands, are in effect useless to the general purpose of defending the Protestant religion against Popery. Nor will this end be in any measure answered by abridgements; which, however they may give a general view of the Controversy on the several heads, are by no means sufficient armour for the clergy, when they happen to be engaged with Popish priests in close combat, *i.e.* when some one or more particular points are agreed on for the subject of dispute, and authorities from Scripture and antiquity are to be produced and discussed at large. However, as short summaries have also their use, the reader will find four of that sort at the end of this collection, which set before him the whole Controversy in a narrow compass, and are drawn up with remarkable accuracy and judgment.

The writings of the divines of the Church of England in the forementioned reign, were of two sorts; some of them occasional answers and replies to the Popish priests; and others, distinct and elaborate discourses upon the particular heads of Controversy between us and the Papists. The first sort ran into great lengths, as most controversies do when they are

once set a foot ; and having frequent reference to the writings of the adversary, are not to be clearly understood without recourse to those writings, which yet are rarely to be met with. Many of them were complaints, that Popery had been misrepresented, which produced as many answers to justify the representations that our writers had given of their doctrines, and to prove them to be no other than what were delivered and maintained as such, by public determinations and the most eminent writers of their own Church. In that branch of the Controversy (which was large, and carried on under the names of Representer and Misrepresenter, &c.) the truth or falsehood of the doctrines themselves was not so much considered or entered into, as the question of fact, whether the doctrines were justly chargeable or not ? The bringing down Popery to a less distance from Protestantism, as well as the raising Protestantism to as many degrees nearer Popery, has been an artificial method of winning over unwary and ignorant people, who were not capable of entering into the real merits of the cause ; and was, therefore, to be diligently guarded against at that critical time, when the cause of Popery was pushed on with such violence, and when the secular advantages attending it were so many temptations to hope and believe that the passage from one Church to the other, was not so large a step as had been generally represented. At such a juncture, every quarter was to be guarded with the greatest care and watchfulness ; and no arguments, however weak or trifling in themselves were to be left unanswered, lest a triumph should be raised as if they were unanswerable.

But the most instructive and valuable part of the writings in that reign were Discourses upon the particular doctrines of Popery, openly maintained by their Church, and condemned by ours. Those Discourses came up directly and immediately to the merits of the cause, and were the result of much study and deliberation, and, by stating every point upon the foot of Scripture, reason, and antiquity, have in effect exhausted the several subjects. Of these, therefore, the following collection consists ; and to make it more uniform as well as more useful, the whole is digested into a regular system, and the several Discourses ranged under the titles and chapters to which they properly belong. And when it happens, as it sometimes does, that the Discourse incidentally touches upon matters which do not directly and immediately relate to the principal subject of it, but to some other points of Popery ; references to such

places will be found in the Index, under the heads to which they belong.

It is fit the reader should be acquainted, that there are other Discourses of the same kind, which might well have deserved a place in this collection; but the work being expensive, and the success not certain, the undertakers were not willing to go beyond two volumes; and there was the less occasion to reprint some of those Discourses, however excellent in themselves, because they have been published among the works of their respective authors, and are already in many hands, and to be easily met with; particularly Doctor Barrow's most judicious and elaborate Discourse against the Papal supremacy.

But though the present collection contains the Discourses which were found most material, and though these, as digested under their proper heads, will appear to be an excellent confutation of the Popish doctrines, and in the same degree a vindication of our own; it is to be wished, that the undertakers may find sufficient encouragement to proceed to a third volume, to consist of some other Discourses which might be of good use, and of such of the controversial writings as are not barely answers to adversaries, but have also in them a considerable mixture of Discourses upon particular points, which occasionally fell in the writer's way.

II. As to the Discourses which are now published together; if they needed any other recommendation besides their own intrinsic worth, they might justly claim it from the character of their authors; many of whom were persons of great eminence at that time, and afterwards advanced to the chief stations in the Church. And many others were persons of distinguished learning and abilities; on account of which, and of their seasonable service to the Protestant cause under that fiery trial, they were afterwards rewarded with suitable dignities and honours, and were ornaments to the age in which they lived. For the truth of this, there needs no other proof than the reader's casting his eye upon the names and stations of the several authors; which, in justice both to them and the work, are added to the titles of the respectable treatises at the end of this Preface.

III. If the question be asked, Why it is thought expedient to publish a collection of tracts against Popery, particularly at this time? The answer is, Because at this time, and for some time past, an uncommon diligence and openness in perverting the members of our Church to Popery, has been a matter of

general observation and complaint, and very justly continues to be so. What effects this liberty, if suffered to go on, may have upon government as well as religion, is left to the consideration and judgment of the legislative and executive powers. But, surely, it is fit that the parochial clergy, who have the care of souls, and the greatest part of whom have been born since the Popish controversy in effect died, should have their thoughts turned to the subject, and be furnished with the weapons which their predecessors used with such success, and by which they obtained so remarkable a victory over the cause of Popery, notwithstanding the support it had from the secular power.

IV. If on this occasion an enumeration should be made of the punishments which the laws have provided, “Against the Exercise of Episcopal Power by Popish Bishops;” “Against the keeping of Popish Schools and Seminaries;” “Against the giving Protections to English and Irish Priests;” and, “Against the perverting or attempting to pervert any Protestant subject to the Romish Religion.” This might look like a design to stir up prosecutions, and which I dare say is very far from being in any one’s desire or intention, without such provocations on their part, as render them evidently necessary. But when the laws on one hand are so strong against them, and on the other hand are suffered to sleep, it might well be expected, that both priests and people should retain a grateful sense of the lenity of the government, and take care to behave in the most cautious and inoffensive manner, especially when their known attachment to two foreign heads renders them so liable to be suspected, and would well justify the Government in keeping the strictest eye over them and their behaviour.

This is what might reasonably be expected from the Papists in general. But the priests, in particular, must suppose that our governors are not only asleep, but in a lethargy, if they think they do not feel the evil effects of conversions to Popery; particularly if they do not see that those conversions are really so many additions of new strength to a Popish Pretender to the Crown. Whatever may be said of other liberties in the exercise of their religion, and of the connivance of the civil power at the openness of them; here, religion as such is not concerned. So that if this practice were laid under such restraints as the laws have provided, any complaint of severity would be neither more nor less than a complaint that they are not suffered, with impunity, to deprive the king of the hearts

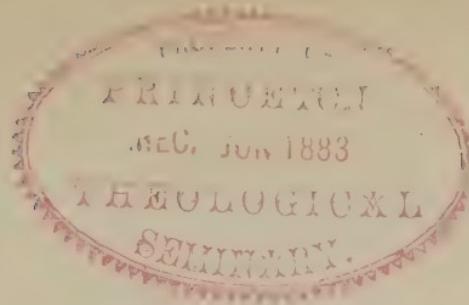
and affections of his subjects, and to enlist them in a foreign service.

However, this is the proper province of the civil powers ; and our present concern is not with government, but with religion ; in other words, not with penalties, but with arguments. And whatever may be the reasonings of governors in the state, with regard to the wisdom and expedience of exerting themselves in this or that manner, at this or that juncture ; it will at all times be the duty of Protestant ministers to preserve their flocks from the infection of corrupt principles ; and by furnishing themselves with proper arguments and a thorough knowledge of the cause, to be always in readiness to oppose and defeat every attempt to corrupt them. The priests of the Church of Rome are trained up to the work, and instructed in all the most plausible methods and arguments for winning over people to their Church ; and if Protestant pastors should be uninstructed, and unable to manage the argument, and take off the colours that the adversary lays on, a victory must of course ensue, and the convert be carried off in triumph.

V. To prevent this reproach upon a Protestant clergy, and to preserve well-meaning people, by their endeavours, from being seduced into a very corrupt Church, is the design of publishing this collection of tracts against Popery. But the success of it will depend upon a serious and diligent application on the part of the clergy, and a resolution to be provided with sufficient armour against all events. How soon, or how late, we may be called to the same severe trial and service that our predecessors were, God alone knows. If it be true, as it certainly is, that the Reformation from Popery, and the zeal with which it was carried on and maintained, were founded in a serious concern for the purity of religion in doctrine and practice ; the Protestant cause must grow weaker and weaker, in proportion to the decay of that serious concern among us. If the foundation be faulty, the superstructure cannot stand ; and to what degree most Protestant countries, and particularly our own, are fallen from their ancient seriousness in religion, and zeal for it, is too well known. It cannot be a secret to any one who opens his eyes, how fast infidelity, and an indifference to all religion, has been growing among us for some years past ; and it is no less plain, that if people have no concern for Christianity in general, it must be matter of indifference with them, under what denomination of it they live. Only, the less inward regard they have to religion, the more they will be pleased with a public worship of outward show and pomp.

It has, indeed, been urged, in opposition to this way of reasoning, that several persons of distinction in the reign of James the Second, who appeared by their lives to sit loose from religion in general, were yet as zealous against all the measures of that prince for introducing Popery, as the most serious and sincere Protestants. But this argument will be of little force when it is considered, "That a neighbouring prince was then in the height of his glory, and pushing for universal monarchy;" "That if King James succeeded in his measures for establishing Popery in Great Britain, it must evidently have been by succours from him;" and, "That the intended establishment could not be maintained but by a dependence upon him." The consequence of all which must have been, the swallowing up our civil liberties, and the enslaving us to a foreign power. These were considerations which could not but have great weight with Englishmen as such, abstracting from the point of religion. But when there are not the like fears about civil rights or liberties, no reason can be assigned why such men should be concerned for the Protestant religion in opposition to Popery, much less why they should subject themselves to temporal losses or inconveniences by adhering to it. Whenever things shall come to the trial, the only sure support of the Protestant cause, will be the serious and sincere Christian, who prefers his religion before Popery, because it is more agreeable to the rules of the Gospel and the true spirit of Christianity, and who laments the open profaneness and neglect of God's worship, and the contempt of every thing that is sacred, which are found in this Protestant country. These, at present, afford the priests of the Church of Rome a very specious argument, in their attempts upon those who are not able to enter into the real merits of the cause; and must, in the event, draw down some heavy judgment, if a timely restraint be not laid upon them.

These things are mentioned here as by no means foreign to the subject; to let high and low see where the true strength and support of the Protestant interest lies; and particularly to suggest to the clergy, that the best way of promoting that interest in the ordinary course, is the preserving upon the minds of their people a serious sense of religion, and a reverence for things sacred; and next, to convince those who are in authority, that open profaneness and impiety in a Protestant nation, is the greatest blow that can be given to a Protestant succession.



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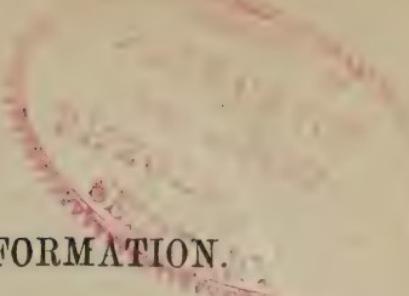
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OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

BOOK I.

THE REFORMATION VINDICATED ON ACCOUNT OF THE NECESSITY OF IT.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE NECESSITY OF A REFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO THE ERRORS AND CORRUPTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

AMONG the many errors of the Church of Rome, there is one especially that puts a bar, not only to the reformation of herself, but of all other churches which depend upon her; and that is, the doctrine of her infallibility: if she cannot err, neither she, nor any other Church that follows her conduct, can stand in need of being reformed; for where there can be no error, there can be nothing amiss; and where there can be nothing amiss, there can be no need of reformation.

It is therefore needful to remove this prejudice, in order to the clearing of the way to the ensuing discourse.

When the Romanists assert that their Church is infallible, and theirs only, we may in reason expect, that they should produce good proof that their Church is so highly privileged above all other churches. This they say they do, and their proofs, they tell us, are so convincing, that they may pass for no less than demonstrations: but, alas, when we come to examine them, we find ourselves strangely disappointed; instead of demonstrations, we meet with nothing that amounts to so much as probability.

Their pretended proofs are taken from Scripture, from reason, and from the authority of the ancient church.

I. Those from Scripture are many, but all of them as impertinent as that of their angelical doctor, to prove that all men are not equally bound to have an explicit faith, because it is said “That the oxen were ploughing, and the asses were feeding beside them.”* For—

* Job i. 14.

First, They do not prove that any Church now in being is infallible.

Secondly, Much less that the Church of Rome is.

First: They do not prove that any Church now in being is infallible. I say now in being, because we grant that there was a time when even particular churches were in their guides infallible, viz. while the Apostles lived, and took upon them the government of particular churches: and many of those Scriptures which the Romanists produce for the infallibility of their present church, peculiarly relate to that time, and to those persons. For instance, these promises, “The Comforter which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my Name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.”* “I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit when he the Spirit of Truth is come, he shall guide you into all Truth: for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear that shall he speak; and he shall show you things to come.”†

It is plain that these promises are to be limited to the Apostles, and those disciples only who personally conversed with our Saviour; because they were made to those to whom he himself had spoken, and to whose remembrance the Holy Ghost was to bring those things he had before told them; to those to whom he had many more things to say, which they were not yet able to bear; to those who had been with Christ from the beginning; to those from whom Christ was now going away, and whom he had before told of his departure; to those to whom the Holy Ghost was to shew things to come; a privilege which the present Roman church does not, I think, so much as pretend to.

And for those other Scriptures, which extend to succeeding ages; though they do, for the most part, concern the Catholic only, and not any particular church; yet they neither assert, nor promise any such thing as absolute infallibility.

Let it be supposed that St. Paul calls the Church “The pillar and ground of the Truth”‡ (for these words may as well be connected with, and applied to that summary of Christian doctrine, which follows) must the meaning needs be, that the Church cannot err? May it not justly lay claim to this title;

* John xiv. 26.

† John xvi. 12, 13.

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

1. If it do not actually err, though it is fallible, and may err? If nothing may be called a pillar that is capable of any defect, St. Peter's Church in Rome will have no pillar left to support it. Or, 2. If it doth not err in things necessary to salvation: that may be truly called a pillar, that upholds all that is needful to the being of the house, though it do not support every little part, but suffers here and there a tile or a stone to fall to the ground. Or, 3. If, together with all necessary truths, it gives support to some errors: as we frequently see those pillars that uphold the building; together with it, they also support other things that are laid upon it, and are no better than a nuisance and incumbrance to it. And such a pillar of truth, the Romanists must be forced to grant, the Uniiversal Church hath sometimes been; for has it not for some ages maintained those doctrines which the present Church of Rome condemns as erroneous? Though the truth is, the Church here spoken of, was that in which Timothy was directed how to behave himself; and that was the Church of Ephesus (or, in the largest sense, that of Asia, of which Ephesus was the metropolis), and that this Church hath fundamentally erred, must needs be granted, there being not one family of Christians now to be found in Ephesus.*

From that promise of our Saviour, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church,"† they can by no means infer infallibility, till they have first proved that the gates of hell prevail against every society; yea, against every person, that is not infallible: and when that shall be once proved, the gates of hell will be so largely extended, and those who enter in at them so numerous, that it is to be feared St. Peter will never more be put to the trouble of opening the gates of heaven for any man.

It is true Christ hath promised to "be with his Church always, even to the end of the world."‡ But if all those with whom Christ is present are infallible, then every sincere Christian in the world is so; and then what will become of the Pope's prerogative? When the poorest mechanic, in case he be but an honest Christian, will be as infallible a guide of controversies, as he is now by his flatterers pretended to be.

And as little to this purpose is that other promise of our

* Mr. Rycaut's present State of the Greek Church [1679], chap. ii.
p. 54.

† Matth. xvi. 18.

‡ Matth. xxviii. 20.

Saviour, “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.”* For if Christ’s being in the midst of them does make them infallible, since it is sure he will never be worse than his word, it is also certain that if but two or three only shall meet together in his name in London, they will be then, so met together, infallible. And if infallibility may be had at home, and at so cheap a rate, great fools are they that will put themselves to the trouble and expense of travelling to Rome for it.

Those other Scriptures produced to this purpose, as, “Tell it to the Church, and if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican.”† “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves,”‡ &c., are even to a prodigy impertinent. For whosoever from these, and such like texts shall infer that any person, or society of persons is infallible, he must also, by the same rules of arguing, conclude, that every prince and subordinate magistrate, yea, that every parent and master is so; since the commands of God to hear and obey these are as express and peremptory, as to hear and obey the other.

Secondly: And, as the Scriptures alleged, do not prove any Church now in being to be infallible; so much less that the Church of Rome is. For what proof is this?

Christ promised his Apostles that “his Spirit should lead them into all truth,” therefore the Church of Rome is infallible: is not the consequence altogether as good; therefore the Church of England is infallible?

Christ hath promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church. And is not this promise as applicable to the Church of England as to the Church of Rome?

The Church is the pillar and ground of the truth: so was the Church of Ephesus, when these words were directed to Timothy; and so was every one of the Asian churches, as long as they continued churches: and so is the Church of England now, and other reformed churches, in a higher sense than the Church of Rome (which, together with the truth she still upholds, does also maintain so many errors, that the pillar and ground of error, is a title better becoming her), and so will the universal Church be in all succeeding ages.

Christ hath promised to be with his Church to the end of the world. But is this promise limited to the Church of

* Matth. xviii. 20. † Matth. xviii. 17. ‡ Heb. xiii. 17.

Rome? May not the Church of England put in as good a claim to it? And may not Christ be in the midst of two or three that are gathered together in his name in England, as well as in Italy?

But, as more especially relating to the Church of Rome, they tell us, that Christ prayed for St. Peter, that his faith might not fail.* It is true; but is every man infallible whose faith fails not? Yea, suppose Christ had prayed that St. Peter might be infallible; does it thence follow that the Church of Rome is so? Christ promised St. Paul, that no man should set on him to hurt him: and it seems as fairly to follow from this promise made to St. Paul, that the Church of Rome is infallible, as from the prayer made for St. Peter.

But St. Peter was that rock Christ meant, when he said, "Upon this rock will I build my Church."† That is a question: for St. Chrysostom understood by the rock, not the person, but the confession of St. Peter,‡ and so did St. Cyril of Alexandria, and many more of the Fathers. And if the Pope be infallible, it is certain, that by the rock is meant the faith or confession of St. Peter; for so Pope Felix III. hath expounded it.§ But suppose, that by this rock is meant the person of St. Peter, does it follow that the Church of Rome is infallible? Yes, say they, because the Church of Rome was built upon him. Whether it was or no is much disputed; but it is out of question, that the Church of Antioch was, and that some years before there was a Church at Rome; if, therefore, any privilege accrue from thence, the precedence must be given to Antioch.

But was not St. Paul a rock, and all the rest of the Apostles, in the same sense that St. Peter was? If then a church becomes infallible, by being founded upon a rock, how comes it to pass, that all the other churches of apostolical foundation have erred?

In brief, when they shall produce one text of Scripture, that but so much as fairly intimates, that his Holiness of Rome is not as subject to err as his Grace of Canterbury, that a

* Luke xxii. 32.

† Math. xvi. 18.

‡ ἐπὶ ταύτη τῷ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τουτέστι τῷ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. In cap. 16. Matt. Hom. 55. [Homily 54, printed at Eton.]

§ Super ista confessione ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Epist. 5, apud Binium, tom 3, p. 603. Edit. Paris. 1636. [Labbe, 1671, vol. 4. col. 1070.]

Lateran Council is more infallible than a Convocation at Westminster, they will produce something that is not at all impertinent.

II. Let us now consider whether their arguments from reason are more concluding. It will, I think, be sufficient to examine that alone, which they most frequently insist upon, and make the greatest noise with; for if that shall be found to be of no weight, we may warrantably conclude, that all the rest are lighter than nothing and vanity.

Now that is taken from the supposed necessity of an infallible living judge, in order to the peace of the Church. For though the Scripture, they grant, is a rule infallible, yet since controversies, notwithstanding, frequently arise about the sense of it, by what means shall these be determined, and sects and heresies, either prevented or suppressed, if there be no infallible interpreter of it?

Which argument supposes these three things:—

1. That it is necessary, in order to peace, that all controversies which arise in the Church should be determined.
2. That controversies cannot be determined without an infallible judge.
3. That such a judge would certainly give a final determination to them.

Neither of which suppositions may be granted. For neither is it necessary to the peace of the Church, that all manner of controversies should be decided; and if it were, there may be other means by which they may be as well decided, as by an infallible judge; and in case there were not, yet this judge would not be so effectual to this purpose as is supposed.

1. There is no necessity, in order to this end, that all sorts of controversies should be determined, because every difference in opinion does not necessarily infer the breach of peace. How frequently do we meet with those who live in peace together, and yet are in many things different in their judgments one from another? This the Romanists themselves must of necessity grant; for they boast much of their own peace and unity, and yet all the world knows, that there are many controversies among themselves that are yet undetermined, and are likely so to remain.

Nor is this true only of particular persons, but the same is also verified of particular churches, many of which maintain peace between themselves, notwithstanding their different judgments in many matters of smaller moment.

2. When controversies arise, which really disturb the peace of the Church, is there no way to decide them without recourse to an infallible judge? If not, then it is not enough that there be such a judge, but it is also necessary that he should be clearly known; if there be, then such a judge is not necessary, for that means cannot be necessary without which the end may be attained.

1. If controversies, which create disturbance to the Church, cannot be determined without an infallible umpire, it is also necessary for the determining of them, not only that there be such an umpire, but that we be assured who he is; for in this case, not to be known, and not to be, are in effect the same thing: so that let there be judges infallible, never so many, our controversies will be never the nearer an end, unless we are able to discern who they are. Now I cannot imagine at present, how they can be known, except one of these two ways only: either by being clearly revealed by God in Scripture, or by God's bearing witness to their infallibility by signs and wonders. But God hath neither expressly, nor by evident consequence, declared in Scripture that he hath any where constituted such a judge, much less hath he told us who he is, and where we may find him; till, therefore, they who pretend to it, prove their infallibility by unquestionable miracles, let them not expect that we should take them for such. Nor can they in reason blame us for this, since the disagreement in this point is so great among themselves, that of all other questions it seems most to stand in need of an infallible judge to determine it.

2. If controversies may be decided by other means, then what need of an infallible judge? That cannot be necessary to an end, without which the end may be obtained. And that controversies may be otherwise determined, is certain, because they have been. How were all the controversies decided, and the heresies suppressed, which sprang up in the early age of the Christian Church? Were the Gnostics, the Valentinians, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Donatists, the Arians, suppressed by those who took upon them to be infallible? No such thing was in those days talked of; the bishops and councils that confuted them, did not so much as pretend to any such privilege. The only means they had recourse to, was the infallible rule, the Holy Scriptures; this was the judge to which, in all their questions, they appealed; and those who are so perverse, as not to be determined by it, should Elias

come and take the chair, neither will they be determined by his sentence ; for nothing can be objected to render the Scripture ineffectual to this end, but the same may with equal force be objected against the definitions of an infallible judge. And therefore,

3. An infallible judge is no such infallible means for the ending of controversies, as is by the Romanists supposed.
For—

1. When there was such a judge in the Jewish Church (I mean our blessed Saviour), did his authority put an end to the disputes between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and other sects among them ? Yea, did not that Church then fall into the most damnable error, by rejecting this infallible teacher ? It will be said, the reason of that was, because they did not own his infallibility. Be it so ; and may not then any other infallible guide be rejected ? Can it be imagined, that any other person's infallibility should ever be attested with more unquestionable credentials than his was ? But—

2. Neither those who have been owned for infallible, have been so successful to this purpose among them who have owned them under this character. For, 1. The Apostles were thought infallible, by those churches which they planted, and yet errors and heresies sprang up in them, and they were divided into parties. And though St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, had endeavoured to reduce them to unity, yet we find by his second Epistle, that that had not put an end to their divisions. Those who know they have a guide that cannot err, may go astray as much as others, in case they refuse to follow his conduct. 2. The Romanists tell us, that their Church cannot err, ; and if they do indeed believe what they profess, it will be as effectual for the ending of differences among themselves, as if it were indeed infallible. And yet are there not many controversies among them ? And though they upbraid us with our divisions, are not theirs as many ? And some of them such as are by the differing parties reckoned even matters of faith ? If, then, their infallibility were such a sovereign cure of divisions, how comes it to pass, that no reconciliation is made between the dissenting parties among themselves ? The truth is, so far is their pretended infallible judge from lessening, that he increases their controversies ; for no sooner was he talked of, but instead of deciding those that were already, many were raised that were never before heard of. And therefore—

3. Such a work of the Holy Spirit upon men's hearts, as would make them meek, and humble, and charitable, and heavenly minded, sincere lovers of truth, desirous to know the will of God, and resolved to do it, would be an expedient much more available for the healing of our divisions, and promoting of peace, than infallibility of judgment. For from whence come wars and fightings among us? Come they not hence, even from our lusts? Scarce ever was any error broached, that created disturbance to the Church, but it is manifest it took its rise from, and was fostered and maintained, either by the lust of the flesh, or the lust of the eye, or the pride of life: let but men's fleshly, worldly, and devilish lusts be once mortified, and our differences will be composed; or if any remain, they will be such as will be destructive neither of peace nor charity. Should we therefore argue at the same absurd rate that our adversaries do, might we not as fairly conclude that God hath made every man pious and humble, and a doer of his will, as that he hath made one man, or one Church, infallible?

But now, if that which is supposed by the Romanists, were all granted. If it were necessary to the peace of the Church, that all controversies should be decided; if they cannot be decided without some infallible umpire; and if it were certain that such an umpire would give a final determination to them; yet doth it hence follow, that the Church of Rome must be that umpire? Suppose the Church of England were infallible, might it not be as serviceable to these intents and purposes?

III. This pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome hath as little support from the doctrine of the ancient Christian Church, as it hath from Scripture and reason. Though the Romanists are wont (among those who will take their word) to boast much of the authority of the Fathers; yet that they are not able to produce so much as one who speaks to their purpose, may be reasonably concluded from the performances of Cardinal Bellarmine in this matter,* all whose allegations are so impertinent, that the very reading of them may be sufficient to satisfy an impartial person, that nothing can be found in antiquity that really favours this pretence. Yea, that the Fathers were of a contrary judgment, and thought that the Church of Rome had no such paramount privilege above other Churches, will afterward appear by plain and undeniable proofs.

* Bell. de Rom. Pontif. l. 4. c. 4.

If what the Romanists slyly suppose, and make great advantage of in this question, were true (viz. that the Roman is the Catholic Church) it would not do their work. For though the Catholic Church is infallibly led by the Holy Ghost, into all things necessary to be believed and practised; yet we have no assurance, either from Scripture or reason, that she shall not err in other matters. But that the Roman and Catholic are the same, is an opinion not only condemned by the first Council of Nice,* and (which is more) was wholly a stranger to the first eight general Councils,† that is, unknown to the Christian world for 900 years after Christ. But it is moreover as absurd in itself, as to say that the part is equal to the whole; that the Church of London is the Church of England. And till they have proved the latter, we shall hardly be persuaded to believe the former. In the mean time, let them take it for a favour, that we grant the Church of Rome to be a part of the Catholic Church, it being a part so miserably corrupted.

I thought it needful to premise what hath been said, because when we charge the Church of Rome with errors, and for proof of that charge, produce many particular instances, her advocates think it a sufficient answer to tell us; alas, sirs, you are grossly mistaken! as for those opinions and practices which you take for errors, it is yourselves only that err in thinking them to be so; for the Church of Rome is so highly privileged, that Christ and his Apostles may as soon err as she. Having therefore removed this obstacle out of the way, I now proceed

* Can. 6. [Τὰ αρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω τὰ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ Διβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῖας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων ἔχειν τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἐπείδη καὶ τῷ ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐπίσκοπῳ. Ὄμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Καθόλου δὲ προδῆλον ἵκενο ὅτι εἰ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μετροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος τὸν τοιότητον ή σύνοδος ή μεγάλη ὕβριση μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.] “Let the ancient customs prevail, which are in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; that the Bishop of Alexandria have authority over all, since this is customary also to the Bishop of Rome. In like manner also as regards Antioch. And in all the other provinces let the churches preserve their dignity. This is altogether certain, that if any one become a bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great synod has determined that he ought not to be a bishop.”]

† Novem primis seculis, quibus octo universalia concilia habita sunt, nunquam auditum aut lectum, Romanam Ecclesiam aliā notione aut significacione sumptam, quam pro singulari et particuli Ecclesia, atque primo membro Ecclesiæ universalis. Richer. l. 1. c. 13. p. 754. Colon. 1683.

to that which I mainly design, which I shall comprise under these following heads of discourse.

I.—That the Church of Rome is not only fallible, but hath actually erred.

II.—That her errors were not slight, and in matters of small moment; but so gross and enormous, when the Reformation was set on foot, that there was a necessity of reforming them.

III.—That no hope was left that the Church of Rome would either reform these errors in herself, or give consent to the reformation of them in any other Church that communicated with her.

IV.—That every particular National Church had a right to reform itself without her leave.

V.—That this right of the Church of England in particular was most unquestionable. And, therefore, as a necessary conclusion from these premises,

VI.—That the Church of England was indispensably bound to reform herself, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Church of Rome.

I. That the Church of Rome not only may err, but hath actually erred. This cannot be denied, if those in that Church have erred, who (as they themselves assert) are the only persons that cannot err. For if these supposed infallible guides have mistaken their way; how can it otherwise be, but that those who blindly follow them, must go astray too? Now let them place their infallibility where they please, either in the Pope, or in a General Council, or in both united, it is as certain that they all have erred, as that both parts of a contradiction cannot be true.

1. For their Popes, it is a common thing with them to rescind each other's decrees, and to make definitions as opposite one to another, as yea and nay. Thus Pope Stephen VI. abrogated the decrees and nulled the acts of Formosus I.* Pope Romanus I. did the like kindness for Stephen.† Pope John X. reprobated the acts of Stephen, and restored those of Formosus.‡ Pope Sergius III. was so great an abhorrer of

* Platina in vita Steph. [Tanto odio persecutus est. Formosi nomen ut statim ejus decreta abrogaverit. 1611. p. 145.]

† Id. in vita Romani. [Romanus patria. Romanus ubi pontificatum iniit. Stephani Pontificis decreta et acta statim improbat abrogatque. 1613. p. 146.]

‡ Id. in vita Johannis X. [Stephani res gestas improbavit et Formosi acta restituit. 1611. p. 14.]

Formosus and his acts, that he compelled those priests who had received orders from him to be reordained; nor would he suffer his dead body to rest; but commanding it to be taken up, set it in the Pope's seat, adorned with priestly robes, and passed sentence upon him, as if he had been alive, and then pulling off the sacred vestments, and cutting off the three fingers with which he was wont to give his blessing, commanded it to be thrown into the Tiber, as unworthy of human burial.* Pope Nic. I. decreed, that it was not fit for clergymen to bear arms.† Pope Urban the II. exhorted the bishops to fight against the Amalekites (viz. the Turks),‡ and Pope Boniface VIII. shewed himself to the people at the jubilee in an imperial habit, and had a naked sword carried before him.

Nor have they only contradicted one another, but the same Pope hath contradicted himself too. So did Pope Vigilius again and again in the controversy about the three chapters.§ So did Pope Martin V., he confirmed that decree of the Council of Constance, which set a General Council above the Pope; and he set the [Pope above a Council, in publishing a bull against appeals from the Pope to a Council.]|| So did Eugenius IV., Paul III., and many more.

Nor have they erred only in points of small importance, but even in matters of faith. Pope Liberius consented to the Arian heresy, as St. Athanasius,¶ St. Hilary,** and St. Jerome,†† inform us. Pope Honorius defended the heresy of the Monothelites, and was condemned for a downright heretic by the

* Platina in vita Sergii. Luitprand. 1. 1. de reb. Imp. et Reg. 8.

† Nam cum discreti sint milites seculi à militibus Ecclesiæ; non convenit militibus Ecclesiæ, militare seculo, per quod ad effusionem sanguinis necesse sit pervenire. Gratian. Dist. 50. c. 5. [Cologne, 1670, p. 159.]

‡ Baron. an. 1095. n. 49. [1746. Vol. 18. p. 31.]

§ Pet. de Marca dissert. de decret. Vigilii. [1708, col. 210, 211.]

|| Richer. Hist. Concil. General. 1. 2. c. 3. s. 21, 23, 25.

¶ In epistola ad solitariam vitam agentes, p. 837. Par. [Τοίνον ὁ σπάδων εἰς τὴν Ρωμήν πρῶτον παρεκάλει τὸν Λιβέριον κατὰ Αθανασίου μεν ὑπογράψαι τοῖς δε Αρειανοῖς κοινωνησαι. Patav. 1777, p. 288.]

** Hæc est perfidia Ariana, Anathema tibi à me dictum, Libri, et sociis tuis; iterum tibi Anathema, et tertio, prævaricator Liberi, Hil. in Frag. col. 426. [1730. col. 678, n. 6.]

†† In Catalogo vir. Illustr. [In hoc Fortunatianus videtur detestabilis quod Liberium Romanæ urbis Episcopum pro fide ad exilium per gentem primus sollicitavit ac fregit et ad subscriptionem hæreseos compulit. 1735. col. 917. c. 97.]

sixth,* seventh,† and eighth‡ General Councils. All which Councils were confirmed by Popes. The sixth by Leo II., the seventh by Adrian I., the eighth by Adrian II. So that if the Pope confirming a council be infallible, it is certain that the Pope hath not only erred, but hath been a heretic; that is, it is certain, that he hath damnably erred, and that it is impossible he should err.

I shall propose two or three questions to the Romanists, the answers to which (one would think) might put an end to this controversy; because whether they be in the affirmative or negative, they must of necessity grant, that either the ancient or modern Popes have erred. The questions are these. First, Whether Pope Gelasius did not err, when he forbade communicating in one kind only as a grand sacrilege?§ Secondly, Whether Pelagius II. and Gregory the Great did not err, when they condemned the title of universal bishop as profane and antichristian?|| Thirdly, Whether Pope Martin V. did not err, when he confirmed the Council of Constance, which determined that a General Council was the Pope's superior.¶

Now what arts have the Romanists to reconcile these palpable contradictions? They have a notable invention, by which *statuimus* and *abrogamus* do signify the same thing, as the gloss upon Gratian informs us they do.** For that the Pope may err, and that he cannot err, may both be true. He may

* Richer. hist. Concil. general. l. 1. c. 10. s. 23, 24.

† Id. l. 1. c. 11. s. 10.

‡ Id. l. 1. c. 12. s. 21.

§ Comperimus autem [quod] quidam, sumptā tantummodo corporis sacri portione, à calice sacri cruxis abstineant, qui procul dubio, quoniam nescio quā superstitione docentur obstringi, aut integra Sacraenta percipient, aut ab integris arceantur: quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire. Gratian. de consecrat. dist. 2. c. 12. [Cologne, 1673, p. 1167.]

|| Pelagi epist. ad Constantinopl. Synod. Episcopos. Greg. M. lib. 6. Epist. 30.

¶ Concil. Constant. sess. 4, et 5. [Ipsa Synodus a Spiritu Sancto congregata legitime, generale concilium faciens ecclesiam Catholicam militante representans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet cui quilibet cujuscumque status vel dignitatis etiam si papalis existat obedire tenetur in his quae pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis et reformationem generalem ecclesiæ Dei in capite et membris. 1672, col. 19. sess. 4.] [Item declarat quod quicunque cujuscumque conditionis, status, dignitatis etiam si papalis, qui mandatis statutis seu ordinationibus aut præceptis hujus sacrae Synodi—obedire contumaciter contempserit nisi resipuerit condignæ penitentiae subjiciatur. 1672, col. 22, sess. 5.]

** *Statuimus*, i. e. *abrogamus*. dist. 4. cap. *Statuimus*.

err as a private doctor, he cannot err as Pope. Hildebrand may quite fall from the faith ; Gregory the Seventh cannot so much as trip. His errors (whatsoever they are) are ever personal, never judicial ; much like that distinction in the late times of rebellion, between the king's personal and politic capacity ; by the help of which they fought for the king, who fought against Charles Stuart.

But when the Pope determines judicially, does he follow his private judgment, or does he not ? if not, he defines against his conscience ; he really believes one thing, and professes to believe another. If he does, then in case it happens that he err personally, he must of necessity err judicially.

But when may the Pope be said to err judicially, if not when he errs in making his decrees ? And so of necessity must one of those Popes do, whose decrees thwart and oppose each other. If ever the Pope cannot err, it is (as Bellarmine asserts) when he teaches the Universal Church in matters concerning faith,* and so did Pope Vigilius, when he published his definition concerning the three chapters† which he himself afterwards retracted.

In brief, if the Pope could not sin, we might then be persuaded to grant that he could not err, since a holy heart and life are the best dispositions to a right belief ; but since the Popes are such great strangers to holiness (as they have commonly been for a long time), who can imagine that they, above all other men, should be so intimately acquainted with truth ?

2. That Councils, as general as any that have ever been, have erred, the Romanists will be forced to grant, because there are many such Councils which are by themselves reprobated.‡ It is to no purpose to tell us, that those are such as were never confirmed or approved by the Pope ; for if a General Council, as such, is infallible, it is so whether the Pope confirm it or not. Besides, the Council hath done its work, and therefore hath erred or not erred, before it is confirmed by him. In case, therefore, it hath erred, his confirmation cannot make it not to have erred ; if it hath not erred, there is no need of it to that purpose.

But some will say, the Pope's confirmation doth not make the Council not to have erred, but declare it ; and thereby

* *Summus Pontifex, cum totam Ecclesiam docet, in his quæ ad Fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest.* Bell. de Rom. Pontif. l. 4. c. 3. [n. 1.]

† *Baron. an. 553. n. 208. [1741. p. 128. n. 208.]*

‡ *[Concilia Generalia Reprobata.] Bell. de concil. l. 1. c. 6.*

gives assurance to all persons that it hath not erred. It seems then, that a General Council may err, or else what need the Pope to declare that it hath not erred? But if the Pope himself be not infallible, how can I be ever the more sure that a Council hath not erred because the Pope approves it? And what if the Pope be an heretic (as Honorius was), can a Council be thought the more or less orthodox for being confirmed by him? Should the Council condemn his heresy, and vindicate the truth, can it be supposed that he would confirm it?

But that the Pope's rejecting or approving is no certain argument that a Council hath erred, or not erred, is certain; because that which is truth to-day may be error to-morrow; because the same Council which has at one time been condemned by the Pope, hath at another time been confirmed by him: for instance, the Fifth General Council, which was first condemned, and afterwards approved, by Pope Vigilius.*

3. That General Councils confirmed by the Pope have actually erred, is no less manifest. For, 1. They have made decrees, so apparently contradictory to the plain words and sense of Holy Scripture, that no impartial person can any more question it, than he can whether theft be forbidden by the eighth commandment. So did the Council of Constance, confirmed by Pope Martin V., and the Council of Trent, confirmed by Pope Pius IV. The former in the decree for laics, communicating in one kind only, notwithstanding (as themselves acknowledge) that Christ instituted the Sacrament in both kinds, and delivered it in both to his disciples;† the latter in decreeing that the divine service should not be in the vulgar tongue,‡ in plain contradiction to what St. Paul prescribes in the fourteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. 2. General Councils confirmed by Popes, have made definitions and decrees plainly contradictory one to the other. The sixth General Council was confirmed by Pope Adrian I., the Council of Trent by Pope Pius IV. The former defined that marriage was dissolved by heresy;‡ the

* Pet. de Marca Dissert. de Epist. Vigilii, [1708, col. 210, 211.]

† Concil. Constant. ses. 13. [Labbe et Cossart, 1672. col. 100, ses. 13.]

‡ Concil. Trident. sess. 22, cap. 8. [Labbe, 1672, col. 854.]

§ Canon. 72. [Labbe 1672, vol. 6. col. 1173. Μη ἐξέστω ὁρθόδοξον ἄνδρα αἱρετικῷ συνάπτεσθαι γυναικὶ μητρὶ μεν αἱρετικῷ ἄνδρι γυναικαὶ ὁρθόδοξον ζύγνυσθαι αλλ' εἰ καὶ φανῇ τι τοιωτον ὑπὸ τινος των ἀπάντων γενόμενον ἄκυρον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸ ἀθεσμον διαλέσθαι συνοικεσιον.]

latter that it was not.* The Council of Constance, confirmed by Pope Martin V. decreed that a General Council was superior to the Pope,† the last Lateran Council condemned this decree.‡ 3. A General Council confirmed by one Pope, hath been condemned by a General Council confirmed by another: as the Council of Basil, confirmed by Pope Nicholas V., was esteemed a schismatical and seditious conventicle, and reprobated by the last Lateran Council, confirmed by Pope Leo X.,§ which at Rome is accounted a General Council. So that unless errors become truth, and contradictions be reconciled when determined by a Pope and Council, we may conclude, that not only the Pope himself, but a General Council confirmed by him, hath erred.

It plainly appears by what hath been said, that those have actually erred, whom the Church of Rome supposes to be her only infallible guides: from whence it unavoidably follows, that the Church of Rome hath erred; first, in all those points which have been erroneously defined by them: secondly, in supposing them to be infallible.

I shall not stay to shew of what use Councils, either General or Provincial, are; how far their authority extends, and what great benefit may accrue to the Church by them, though they

* Concil. Trident. sess. 24. Can. 5. [Labbe 1672, vol. 14. col. 874. Can. 5. Si quis discerit propter haeresim aut molestam cohabitationem, aut affectatam absentiam a conjugi dissolvi posse matrimonii vinculum anathema sit.]

† Sess 4 et 5. [Ipsa Synodus a Spiritu Sancto congregata legitime, generale concilium faciens ecclesiam Catholicam militantem representans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet cui quilibet cuiuscumque status vel dignitatis etiam si papalis existat obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis et reformationem generalem ecclesiae Dei in capite et membris. 1672, col. 19. sess. 4.] [Item declarat quod quicunque cuiuscumque conditionis, status, dignitatis etiam si papalis, qui mandatis statutis seu ordinationibus aut præceptis hujus sacra Synodi—obedire contumaciter contempserit nisi reperitur condignæ penitentie subjiciatur. 1672, col. 22. sess. 5.]

‡ Concil. Lateran. sess. 11. [Labbe 1732, col. 967. Cum etiam solum Romanum Pontificem pro tempore existentem tanquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem tam conciliorum indicendorum transferrendorum ac dissolvendorum plenum jus ac potestatem habere nedum ex sacrae scripture testimonio, dictis sanctorum patrum ac aliorum Romanorum pontificum etiam prædecessorum nostrorum sacerorumque canonum decretis sed propria etiam eorumdem conciliorum confessione manifeste constet.]

§ Binii notis in Concil. Constantiens. Bell. de Concil. Auct. I. 2, c. 17. [num. 11.]

be supposed not to be infallible, but shall proceed to the next proposition, viz.,

II. That the errors of the Church of Rome were not slight, and in matters of small moment; but so gross and enormous, when the Reformation was set on foot, that there was a necessity of reforming them. This will be evident,

First, by unquestionable testimonies.

Secondly, by taking a particular view of the errors themselves.

First: by testimonies of unquestionable authority; of persons who could neither be mistaken through ignorance, nor biassed by interest or affection, to represent matters worse than indeed they were: but who were, on the contrary, as well acquainted with the state of the Roman Church as any persons in the world: who were promoted to the greatest honours in it; whose worldly interests engaged them above all other men to maintain its reputation and authority; and who not only lived but died in communion with it. Such were their learned doctors, their bishops and cardinals, their princes and emperors, their Popes and General Councils; though the two last are not to be reckoned for single witnesses, but for the voice of their Church; the one being their Church representative, the other (according to their divinity) their Church virtual. Of those many which offer themselves, I shall content myself to produce a few; and those shall be such as were either contemporary with, or who lived within about a hundred years of the Reformation, passing over those who were at a greater distance from it.

John Gerson, the renowned Chancellor of Paris, in a sermon to the Council of Constance, applies to the modern Church of Rome these words of the Prophet Ezekiel: "Thou didst trust in thine own beauty, and playedst the harlot, because of thy renown; and pouredst out thy fornications on every one that passed by. And in all thy abominations thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth. Thou hast built thy brothel house at every head of the way, and hast made thy beauty to be abhorred. Behold, therefore, I will deliver thee into the hands of those that hate thee." And after he had told them what were the sad symptoms of approaching ruin, he advises them to a great and notable reformation of manners, as the only means to prevent it.* And because,

* Joh. Gerson, Serm. de signis ruinæ Ecclesiæ.

saith he, some may say that the Church is founded upon a rock, and therefore in no danger of ruin. He declares more particularly what were those enormities, in which the churchmen especially needed to be reformed: and then exhorts the Council, "either to reform all estates of the Church in a General Council, or command them to be reformed in Provincial Synods; that by their authority the Church might be repaired, and the house of God purged from all uncleanness, vices and errors."*

The same author earnestly pressed Pope Alexander V. to set himself to reform those corruptions and abuses, which (as he says) were the plague of the Church, and without the removal of which, it was in vain to expect peace.†

Nic. Clemangis, another Parisian doctor, wrote several books upon this subject, in which he represents to the world the deplorable state of the Roman Church, and the necessity of reforming it.‡

Add to these single testimonies, the solemn appeal of the whole University of Paris, from Pope Leo X. to a General Council, in defence of the Pragmatic Sanction. In which they set forth, how that the Councils of Constance and Basil made many decrees, especially about the reformation of the ecclesiastical state, as well in the head as in the members, which, in those days especially, seemed to stand in need of reformation. And how, among other things, the Sacred Council of Basil considered, how by the ancient Fathers, sacred canons and wholesome decrees were made for the happy government of the ecclesiastical state; which, as long as they were observed, the vigour of ecclesiastical discipline continued, religion, piety, and charity flourished. But, after that men, through ambition and covetousness, began to contemn the decrees of the holy fathers, there followed deformities in the Church, many of which they afterwards enumerate, and then appeal from the Pope to a future General Council.§ And it is observable that this appeal was made in the year 1517, the very same year in which Luther began to preach against the horrible abuses of indulgences.

If we pass on to bishops and archbishops, though their in-

* Declarat. Defect. viror. Ecclesiast.

† Serm. coram Alexand. in die Ascens. Domini.

‡ De Corrupto Statu Ecclesiae, et de Reparatione et Ruina Ecclesiae.

§ Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. Richer. Hist. Concil. General. I.

4. part 2. p. 84.

terest engaged them more strongly to oppose it, yet we shall find several even among them, who were so sensible of the necessity of reformation, that they earnestly called for it, and endeavoured to promote it.

Frederick archbishop of Salerno, Jerome archbishop of Brunswick, and Joh. Matth. Gibertus bishop of Verona, plainly declared that they had a great sense of the corruptions of the Church, by the Articles of Reformation, which (together with the rest of the Select Council) they delivered to Pope Paul III.*

In a book, entitled “*Onus Ecclesiæ*,” written by John Suffragan bishop of Saltzburgh, in the year 1519 (that is but two years after Luther began the Reformation), we have, for many chapters together, a most direful description of the corrupt state of the Church.†

In the Council of Trent, the bishop of Conimbraria said, “For these 150 years the world hath demanded a reformation in the head, and the members, and hitherto hath been deceived; that now it was time they should labour in earnest, and not by dissimulation.”‡ And Dudithius, an Hungarian bishop, prayed the Hungarians and Polonians, “That for God’s sake, and for the charity every Christian oweth to the Church, they would not abandon so honest, just, and profitable a cause, but that every one would put down in writing what he thought might be constituted for the service of God, without any respect of man, not reforming one part, but the whole body of the Church, in the head and members.”§

If from bishops we ascend to cardinals; though to their pride and luxury, and pomp and grandeur, nothing could give a greater blow than a due reformation; yet to such a wretched state was the Church reduced, that many of them did not only acknowledge the necessity of reforming it, but in some measure contributed their endeavours toward it.

Gaspar cardinal Contrarene, John Peter cardinal Theatine, James cardinal Sadolete, and Reginald Pool cardinal of England, were of the number of the Select Council that presented the Articles of Reformation to Pope Paul III.||

The College of Cardinals, at the death of Alexander VI.,

* Richer. Hist. Concil. General. 1. 4. part 2. p. 136.

† *Onus Ecclesiæ*, c. 19, 20, 21, &c.

‡ History of the Council of Trent, 1. 6. p. 568.

§ Page 588.

|| Richer. Hist. Concil. General. 1. 4. part 2. p. 156.

before they entered the conclave for the election of a new Pope, took an oath, that if any of them should be chosen, he should immediately, before the publication of his election, bind himself, under pain of perjury and a curse, to call a Council within two years for the reformation of the Church;* which oath was taken by Julius II.,† who was chosen Pope; and when it appeared afterward that he made no conscience of keeping it (seven years having passed without any mention of a Council), in the year 1511 nine cardinals, who had withdrawn themselves from Rome, by reason of his insolences, by the assistance of the emperor Maximilian, and Lewis XII., king of France, called the second Pisan Council to that purpose.‡ Petrus de Aliaco, cardinal of Cambray, wrote a book for the reformation of the Church;§ and Ludovicus, cardinal of Arles, who presided in the Council of Basil, zealously endeavoured it. The cardinals who called the first Pisan Council to extinguish the schism raised by the two anti-Popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., vowed that they would, to the utmost of their power, procure that he that should be chosen Pope should reform the Church; and that till a due and sufficient reformation of the Universal Church was made, as well in the head as the members, he should not suffer the Council to be dissolved.||

Though the testimonies already produced are beyond exception, yet behold greater witnesses than these; I mean Popes themselves, who, above all men in the world, abhorred all proposals of reformation, as that which would throw them down from their usurped dominion, and put a stop to their lawless tyrannies. To such an excess were the Romish corruptions grown, and so evident was the necessity of reforming them, that they were forced to confess it who most desired to deny it.

To this purpose, Paul III. appointed a select council of prelates to collect those abuses which were most notorious and pernicious, and present them to him, that he might correct them.¶ Pope Marcellus II. said, that he resolved to make a severe and entire reformation, but died before he could let the

* Richer. Hist. Concil. General. l. 4. part 1. c. 2.

† Id. l. 4. part 1. c. 3, p. 334.

‡ Id.

§ Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend.

|| Richer. Hist. Concil. General. l. 2. p. 102.

¶ Id. l. 4. part 2. p. 136.

world know whether he intended to be as good as his word.* Paul IV., who succeeded him, promised to reform, not verbally, but really, the head, members, clergy, laity, princes, and people.† Alexander V., as soon as he was chosen by the Pisan Council, promised to set himself to the work, and to choose good and learned men out of every nation to consult with the cardinals about it.‡ Pope Adrian VI. was free and ingenuous in confessing the abominable corruptions of the Church, and especially of the Court of Rome, and professed that he took the papacy upon him, to the end that he might reform the Universal Church.§

What testimony of greater authority can be desired than these already mentioned, unless it be the concurrent voice of the Church representative, in a General Council? To which I now proceed.

The first Pisan Council (as it is commonly reckoned, though it was indeed the second), were resolved to reform the Church, which Alexander V. (as was said before), who was chosen by, and presided in that Council, promised to assist them in.|| The Council of Constance, which followed five years after, decreed, that the Pope, which was then to be chosen, should, together with the Council, or those which should be deputed by the several nations, reform the Church, before the Council should be dissolved; and the matters, about which it was thought fit the reformation should be made, were reduced to eighteen heads.¶ In the Council of Basil, the Pope gave his legate full power of concluding all such things as appertained to the reformation of the ecclesiastical state.** And whereas there were six things which that Council resolved mainly to prosecute, two of them were these. 1. That the Church should be reformed in the head and members. 2. That the ancient discipline, as much as possible, should be restored.†† The second Council at Pisa declared, that the reformation of the Church was most necessary, and passed this decree upon

* Hist. Counc. of Trent, l. 5. [1676. p. 365, 366.]

† Hist. Counc. of Trent, l. 5. [1676. p. 373.]

‡ Concil. Pisan. sess. 21. apud Richer.

§ Sleidan Comment. l. 4. [Argentorati, 1555, p. 48, 49.] Richer. Hist. Concil. General. l. 4. part 2. p. 129. Fascic. rerum expetend. &c. f. 173.

|| Concil. Pisan. sess. 17. & 21. apud Richerium; apud Binium, sess. 16 & 20. [Labbe 1671. Vol. xi. col. 2128 & 2131.]

¶ Concil. Constant. sess. 40. ** Concil. Basil. sess. 1. Bin.

†† Richer. Hist. Concil. General. l. 3. c. 2.

it : That the holy synod would not, nor could dissolve itself, till the Universal Church should be reformed, both in faith and manners, as well in the head as in the members.* Where it is observable, that the reformation decreed by this Council, as so highly necessary, did extend to faith as well as to manners, and so did also that which was required by many other great men of the Roman communion, as shall be afterward shewn, when I descend to particulars.

It cannot be expected that I should ascend higher in the ecclesiastical state, since a General Council is the highest authority of the Church on earth ; by which we see the necessity of a reformation is confirmed, and that not by one single Council only, but by four successively, three of which were confirmed by Popes : the first Pisan by Alexander V., the Council of Constance by Martin V., the Council of Basil by Nicolas V., and so much of it as concerned the reformation (and much more) by Eugenius IV., who was deposed by it. If, therefore, a General Council, confirmed by the Pope, cannot err, it is infallibly certain, and, according to the principles of the Church of Rome, an article of faith, that the reformation of the Church of Rome was necessary.

Should we now pass from the clergy to the laity, from bishops, cardinals, popes, and councils, to secular states, Kings and Emperors, we should find that they were also highly sensible of the corruptions and abuses, usurpations and oppressions, of the Church of Rome, and many of them zealous and active in their endeavours to reform them.

What great complaints were made by many of our Kings of England against the encroachments of Rome ? How often did they petition the Pope for a redress ? But finding no relief from thence, Edward the Third, and Richard the Second, did in part right themselves and their subjects, by the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire.†

Charles VII., King of France, as a fence to the French Church, against the mischiefs which flowed from the Court of Rome, set up the Pragmatic Sanction, which, when Pope Pius II. endeavoured to overthrow, he appealed from him to a General Council.‡ Lewis XI. was indeed decoyed by the

* Sess. 3. apud Richerium, l. 4. part 1. p. 430.

† 27 Edw. 3. c. 1 & 25. Edw. 3. 16 Rich. 2. c. 5 & 13. R. 2. c. 3.
See Cook upon these Statutes, Institut. par. 3. c. 56.

‡ Richer. Hist. Concil. general. l. 4. par. 1 c. 1. p. 36, 37, &c.

Pope's fair promises to revoke that sanction ; but soon after, seeing his error, he commanded it to be again observed.* After the death of Lewis, the three estates of the kingdom assembled at Tours, besought Charles VIII., who succeeded him, to maintain the Pragmatic in its full strength,† which he not only consented to, but resolved to make a further progress in the reforming of the Church, and to that purpose consulted the College of Divines at Paris.‡ Lewis XII., who followed next, coined his money with this inscription :—“ Perdam Babylonis nomen, I will destroy the name of Babylon ;”§ by which he plainly declared what his judgment then was of Rome.

The zeal of Sigismund, the Emperor, for the reformation, was abundantly manifest, by his indefatigable pains in procuring the Council of Constance, and assisting in it, by protecting the Council of Basil against the attempts of Eugenius, and by labouring with other princes to promote it ; but especially by that reformation he made in many things himself. Maximilian I. made bitter complaints of many scandalous abuses of the Roman court, and commanded the redress of them under pain of his heavy displeasure.|| The Emperor Ferdinand proposed to the Council of Trent, by his ambassadors, twenty points concerning worship, manners, and discipline, which he desired might be reformed ;¶ and in a letter to the Pope, and another to his legates in the Council, earnestly pressed for an effectual reformation.**

The Princes of Germany, at the Diet of Nuremberg, in the year 1523, in their answer to Cheregat, the Pope's nuncio, insisted upon the reforming of abuses, and correcting of many errors and vices, which by long track of time had taken deep root ; for the effecting of which, they demanded a free and General Council. And those intolerable burdens, as they called them, laid upon them by the court of Rome, they reduced to a hundred heads,†† which they called the hundred grievances of the German nation, and presented them to the Pope, protesting that they neither would nor could endure them any longer.

* Richer. Hist. Concil. general. l. 4. c. 1. s. 13.

† Id. s. 15.

‡ Id. l. 4. c. 2.

§ Thuani Hist. l. 1. p. 11.

|| Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. f. 170.

¶ History of the Council of Trent, l. 6. p. 513. [1676. p. 480.]

** History of the Council of Trent, l. 7. p. 682.

†† Sleid. com. l. 4. Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. History of the Council of Trent, l. 1.

To conclude this head: to so monstrous a deformed state was the western Church degenerated, that the prince, the priest, the clergy, the laity, men of all conditions and of all nations, yea (if the infallible oracle Pope Adrian the Sixth spoke truth), the whole world groaned after a reformation.*

Secondly, The necessity of which will be further evident, by taking a particular view of the corruptions and errors themselves, which for method's sake, and to avoid confusion, shall be reduced to four general heads:

1. Corruptions in doctrine.
2. In worship.
3. In manners.
4. In discipline.

In treating of which it will plainly appear, that their errors were not small, and of light importance, but so gross, and in matters of such high moment, that there was an absolute necessity of reforming them.

1. Gross corruptions in doctrine. Many doctrines were imposed as articles of faith, which have not the least foundation in Scripture, reason, or primitive antiquity; and many others, which are not only strangers to all these, but contrary to the common sense and experience of mankind. I shall instance in some of them.

(1.) The infallibility of the bishop or Church of Rome. We have before seen that this doctrine hath no foundation in Scripture, and by consequence can be no article of faith; yea, that there is no pretence of reason why the bishop and Church of Rome should be infallible, rather than the bishop and Church of Constantinople; and all those fine flourishes they are wont to make of the expediency of this doctrine, for the ending of controversies, and the safe conducting of souls to heaven, may be as well accounted for, by making the Church of England, or any other Church infallible.

That no such doctrine was owned by the ancient Church, we may be assured, both because the Fathers in those many heresies, which in their times arose, never betook themselves to this easy and compendious remedy for the suppressing of them, but chose the more tedious and laborious way of confuting them by Scripture, by reason, and Catholic tradition; and because the Asian and African bishops did, in some points, so resolutely dissent from the Roman Bishop and Church, that

* Richer. l. 4, par. 2. p. 130.

they chose rather to break communion, than to comply with them therein.

Had any such thing in those days been believed, would the African, Illyrican, and Dalmatian bishops have renounced communion with Vigilius, bishop of Rome, for consenting to the condemnation of the three chapters?^{*} Would the blessed Polycarpus have dissented from Pope Anicetus? Irenæus, from Pope Victor? St. Cyprian, from Pope Stephen? Can any man, who is not forsaken of his reason, imagine that such men as these would have behaved themselves so towards the Pope as they did, had they not thought themselves as infallible judges as he?

But what need I contend for this, when such great men of the Church of Rome, as Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica, Gerson, chancellor of Paris, Almain, Alphonsus de Castro, yea, Pope Adrian VI. himself teach us, (as even Bellarmine himself acknowledges,)† that the Pope may not only err, but be a heretic, yea, and teach heresy too, if he define without a General Council? And when a General Council says, it is certain the Pope may err?‡ And what that Council says of the Pope, is experimentally verified by a Council confirmed by the Pope, as hath been before proved.

Nor is this doctrine to be rejected, merely because it is notoriously false; but more especially because of its horrid consequences, as it opens the door to, and gives protection to any other, the most palpable error, both in doctrine and practice. For if this be once granted, there is no remedy, but we must believe darkness to be light, if the Church of Rome says it is so. Yea, a Thomas Becket, a Garnet, or any other most execrable traitor, must be worshipped for a saint, when the Pope is pleased to canonize him.

(2.) Their doctrine of the Pope's sovereign power over the universal Church, that every Christian, under pain of damnation, is bound to be subject to him; that no appeals may be made from him; that he alone is the supreme judge over all persons, in all causes ecclesiastical, but that he himself can be judged by no man.

This doctrine hath not only been defined by Popes themselves, (as well as their flatterers,) and many hundred of years

* Petrus de Marca dissertat. de Epist. Vigilii, f. 8. [col. 211. Francof. 1708.] † Bell. de Rom. Pontif. l. 4. c. 2. [n. 6.]

‡ Concilii Basil. Respons. Synodal. de Authorit. Concil. general. supra Pap. Richer. l. 3. c. 2. S. 6. [1683. p. 378, &c.]

together put in execution by them, but hath moreover been established by such Councils as are by the Romanists accounted General ;* and yet is not only destitute of all authority from Scripture, but much may be found in Scripture against it ; and not only in Scripture, but it is plain from Church history, that the bishops of Rome, in the early ages of Christianity, had no jurisdiction beyond their own province ; that for the first 300 years, there were but two only, viz. Victor and Stephen, that took upon them to censure persons that were of another diocese, and that they themselves were severely censured for it by other bishops. That the eight first General Councils, were all both called and confirmed, not by Popes, but by the Emperors ;† that the Pope hath been opposed, in many Councils, and many synodical decrees have been passed full sore against his will ;‡ that he himself was subject to the laws of the Church, and upon his transgression of them, obnoxious to censure, no less than other bishops ; that no appeals were allowed to him by the African bishops ; that by the ancient canons, every bishop did order the affairs of his own diocese, without dependence upon, or subordination to the bishop of Rome, and that all causes were finally to be determined by Provincial Councils ;§ that many Popes have been anathematized by other bishops, and many judged, condemned, and deposed by synods. All which, and many other things which might be mentioned, are plainly inconsistent with this pretended universal empire of the Pope.

But if nothing could be alleged from Scripture, or the doctrine or practice of the ancient Church to the contrary, yet the intolerable evils which unavoidably flow from it, cannot but render this doctrine detestable to all those who have any sincere love, either to truth or goodness. For wherever this doctrine is received, a man must think himself in duty bound to entertain error, and to reject the truth ; to put virtue for vice, and vice for virtue, in case the Pope require him so to do ; and that the Pope not only may, but for many

* Concil. Florent. p. 854. tom. 8. apud Binium. Concil. Lateranens. V. Sess. 11.

† Richer. Hist. Concil. general. I. 1. c. 13. [S. 1.] p. 753. Review of the Council of Trent, I. 3. c. 1, & 2. [1638. p. 137, &c.]

‡ As in the Council of Chalcedon, the second at Constantinople, the Council of Constance, of Basil, &c.

§ Concil. Constantinopol. I. Can. 2. [Labbe, 1728. vol. 2. col. 1126.] Concil. Nicæn. I Can. 5. [Ibid. col. 35.]

ages hath commanded men so to do, the sad experience of the Christian world is a proof too unanswerable.

(3.) The doctrine of the Pope's dominion over temporal princes. That if Kings and Emperors oppose themselves to him, or turn heretics, he may depose them, absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and give away their kingdoms to whomsoever he pleases. This exorbitant power hath been challenged by the Pope for many successive ages;* and when opportunity hath served, hath been frequently put in practice by them. So Gregory VII. excommunicated the Emperor Henry IV., and gave away his kingdoms to Rudolphus, Duke of Swabia.† Gregory IX. excommunicated the Emperor, Frederic II., and absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance.‡ Pope Paul III. excommunicated and deposed Henry VIII., King of England, and commanded all his subjects, under pain of a curse, to withdraw their obedience from him.§ Pope Pius V., and Gregory XIII., damned and deposed Queen Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance.|| This doctrine and practice has been defended by their learned cardinals, Baronius and Perron, by their schoolmen, canonists, and by the whole order of Jesuits. Yea, it is no more than what was decreed by divers such Councils, as are generally owned for lawful representatives of their Church; as by the third Lateran Council, under Pope Alexander III.,¶ and by the fourth Lateran Council, under Pope Innocent III.** And though some Romanists are now ashamed to own it, yet no less a man than Lessius tells us, that if Kings may not be deposed by the Pope, then of necessity must the General Council of Lateran have erred.

But what can be more manifest, than that this doctrine is,

* Dictates of Greg. VII. Dictate 9. That all Princes should kiss the Pope's feet. Dictate 12. That the Pope may depose the Emperor. Dictate 27. That he may absolve the subjects of wicked Princes from their allegiance. Binius, tom. 7. part 1. p. 362. Richer. l. 1. c. 13. [S. 3. 1683. p. 759.]

† Baron. an 1080. n. 8. & 12. [1745. vol. 17. p. 498.]

‡ Bullarium Rom. [1727. vol. 1. p. 79, 80.]

§ Bullar. Rom. [Ibid. p. 707, &c.] || Camden's Elizabeth.

¶ Cap. 27. Relaxatos autem se neverint à debito Fidelitatis, &c. [Labbe, 1671. vol. 10. col. 1523. A.]

** Si vero Dominus temporalis requisitus & monitus ab Ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit, &c.—Eadem nihilominus lege servata circa eos, qui non habent Dominos principales, c. 3. [Ib. vol. 11 par. 1. col. 148. E.]

contradictory to the Holy Scripture ? which tells us in express terms, that the “King is supreme,”* and commands “every soul to be subject to the highest civil powers.”† Nothing can be more repugnant to the doctrine of the primitive Fathers, who taught that the Emperor was the supreme power on earth, that he was subject to God only, and that all other persons were put in subjection under him ;‡ that neither prophet, nor evangelist, no, nor Apostle (and therefore not St. Peter himself) was exempt from subjection to him.§

And such as their doctrine was, such was their practice, though their Emperors were idolaters, and implacable enemies to the name of Christ, yet they thought it not in the Pope’s power, to set them loose from subjection to them ; nor did any Pope in those days pretend to such a power, and therefore they chose rather to die, when they had the greatest provocation to resist, and when the number of Christians was so great, that they were able, with ease, to have vanquished their enemies.||

It is a doctrine that is contrary to the confessions and practice of the ancient bishops of Rome, who took the Emperor for their lord and master, and yielded themselves his most humble and obedient servants and subjects. So did Pope Gregory the Great,¶ and before, Pope Gelasius I.,** and after him, Pope Agatho.†† In short, it is a doctrine that involves the highest impiety against God, the greatest injustice towards men ; that subverts the foundations of government, and is inconsistent with human society. No man can recount the usurpations and rapines, the perjuries and murders, the treasons and rebellions, the confusions and desolations, it hath caused in the world.

(4.) The next instance shall be, that which was likewise decreed by the fourth Lateran Council,‡‡ viz. the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation : for the belief of which, there is no better ground in Scripture, than that the Church is tran-

* 1 Epist. Pet. ii. 13.

† Rom. xiii. 1.

‡ Tertull. Apolog. c. 30. & ad Scapulam, c. 2. [1695. p. 47. A. 69. B.]

§ S. Chrysost. ad. Rom. c. 13. v. 1. [1731. p. 686. B.]

|| Cyprian. ad Demetrianum [1728. col. 432, &c.]

¶ Greg. M. Ep. 2. 62. [Labbe, 1671. vol. 5. col. 1133.]

** Gelasii Ep. 8. [Ibid. vol. 4. col. 1181.]

†† Epist. ad Constantium Imp. Actione 4. Syn. 6. [Ib. vol. 6. col. 630, &c.] Vide etiam Richerium Hist. Concil. General. l. 1. c. 10. S. 5, 6. [1683. p. 543, &c. 549, &c.]

‡‡ Cap. 1.

substantiated, or that the rock in the wilderness was substantially changed into Christ; because the Church is called Christ's body,* and it is said, that the rock which followed the Israelites was Christ.† But because it is confessed by many of their own learned writers, we may therefore take it for granted, that this doctrine cannot be proved by Scripture; yea, that it is contrary to it is manifest, because we find in Scripture, that the sacramental elements, after the words of consecration were passed, are called the bread and the cup, as they were before.‡ And if we may believe our Saviour, the wine after it was consecrated, and made the blood of the New Testament, was no other for substance, than the fruit of the vine; for after he had said, "This is my blood of the New Testament;" he adds, "but I say unto you, that I will not drink, henceforth, of this fruit of the vine," &c.§ That the Fathers, for seven hundred years after Christ, believed the elements after consecration to remain the same in substance, is beyond all contradiction proved by many Protestant writers, particularly in two short discourses lately written upon this subject.|| And that the Popes themselves were of the same belief in the fifth century, is evident: "For surely," says Pope Gelasius, "the sacraments we receive of the body and blood of Christ, are a divine thing, for which we are also by them made partakers of a divine nature; and yet the substance, or nature of bread and wine, does not cease to be."¶

Yea, so far was transubstantiation from being the doctrine of the primitive Church, that we can meet with nothing like it, till near the end of the eighth century; and though as soon as it was started, it was vigorously opposed by the most learned men at that time, yet by the help of the deplorable ignorance and superstition of that, and the two next succeeding ages, it was, by slow degrees, nursed up, and brought to its full growth, till at length it came to be established for an article of faith in the Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III., in the year 1215.

Nor is it only destitute of the authority of Scripture, and the

* Ephes. i. 23.

† 1 Corinth. x. 4.

‡ 1 Corinth. xi. 26, 27, 28.

§ Matth. xxvi. 29.

|| Letter to Lady T. Discourse against Transubstantiation.

¶ Certe Sacra menta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ: et tamen esse non definit substantia vel natura panis et vini. De duab. nat. in Christo. Max. Biblioth. Patr. Tom. [1677. vol. 8. p. 703. E.]

ancient Church ; but plainly destructive of our whole religion, by subverting the main foundation upon which it stands. For if that be indeed the flesh of a man which we see, and feel, and taste to be bread ; what assurance can we have, that there ever was any such man in the world as Jesus of Nazareth, or that he ever wrought one miracle in it ? The certainty of which depends upon the certainty of our senses ; and therefore St. John appeals to them, as the great unquestionable proofs of the truth of our religion.* We have therefore the same assurance that transubstantiation is false, as that the Gospel of Christ is true.

Nor is it more opposite to sense than reason ; the belief of it implying ten thousand contradictions. To which we may add, the horrible impieties it involves. That the glorified body of our Saviour, should be contracted to the crumb of a wafer ; that he should be perfectly deprived of sense and reason ; that he should not be able to defend himself against the assaults of the most contemptible vermin ; that he should be swallowed down whole, and if the stomach of the communicant chance to be foul, or overcharged with wine, that he should be vomited up again. Good God ! what man, who is not quite forsaken of religion, reason and sense ; who is not himself transubstantiated into something below either man or beast, can believe these things ?

(5.) That the marriage of priests is unlawful. This doctrine the Church of Rome borrowed from the ancient heretics ; especially from the Manichees, who allowed marriage to their hearers, as the Church of Rome doth to laymen ; but forbade it to their elect,† as that Church doth to her priests.

The first Pope we read of that condemned the marriage of priests was Siricius, almost four hundred years after Christ ; though he seems by his epistles (if they are indeed his), rather to dissuade priests from it, than peremptorily to forbid it.‡ Pope Calixtus II. absolutely forbade priests' marriage, and in

* 1 Epist. John i. 1, 2, 3.

† Hic non dubito vos esse clamaturos invidiamque facturos dicendo, castitatem perfectam vos vehementer commendare atque laudare, non tamen nuptias prohibere ; quandoquidem Auditores vestri, quorum apud vos secundus est gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibeantur uxores. Aug. de moribus Manichæorum. l. 2. c. 18. [1679. vol. 1. col. 739. B.]

‡ Epist. 1 et 4. apud Binium. [Labbe, 1728. vol. ii. col. 1214 & 1225.]

case they were married, commanded them to be separated.* Pope Innocent III. pronounced such marriages null ; and the Council of Trent anathematises those who say they are valid.†

But one would think that God had sufficiently declared his approbation of such marriages, in that the whole world hath by His appointment been twice peopled by two married priests ; first by Adam, secondly by Noah. And we are sure the Holy Scripture tells us that marriage is honourable in all ;‡ and places it among the qualifications of a bishop, that he be the husband of one wife, having faithful children ;§ which, saith St. Chrysostom, the Apostle prescribed to this end, that he might stop the mouths of heretics who reproached marriage ; declaring thereby that marriage is no unclean thing, but so honourable, that a married man may be exalted to the sacred throne of a bishop.||

And well might he think it not unbecoming a bishop, when our Lord thought it not unbecoming an Apostle, no not the prince of the Apostles (as the Romanists will have him), for it is without doubt that St. Peter was married, in that the Scripture makes mention of his wife's mother.¶ And Clemens of Alexandria tells us that it was certainly reported, that when he saw his wife led to death, he rejoiced ; and having exhorted and comforted her, he called her by her name, and bid her remember the Lord ;** and that he was not only married, but begat children, the same Clemens in another place affirms.†† Yea, that St. Philip and St. Jude were also married, and had children, Eusebius is witness.††

In like manner we find that many of the primitive bishops were married ; so were Chæremon bishop of Nilus, St. Spyridon, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Hilary, and many more.

* Presbyteris, Diaconis, Subdiaconis et Monachis concubinas habere, seu Matrimonia contrahere, penitus interdicimus ; contracta quoque Matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi. Grat. dist. 27. c. 8. [Corpus Jur. Canon. 1670. col. 89.]

† Sess. 24. Can. 9. [Le Plat. 1779, p. 243.]

‡ Heb. xiii. 4. § Tit. i. 6.

|| Ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἱρετικὸν τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, δεικνύει τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναγέει, ἀλλ’ οὕτω τίμιον, ὥστε μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐννασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὕγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον. Chrysost. Hom. 2. in c. i. ad Tit. 1731. p. 738. A.] ¶ Matt. viii. 14.

** Clemens Alex. Stromat. l. 7. p. 736. Lut. 1629.

†† Stromat. l. 3. p. 448.

†† Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 20, & 31. [1720. p. 109, 125.]

Nor can it be said that they took wives while they were laymen, and after they took upon them the sacred ministry were separated from them; since the canons, commonly called the Apostles', did prohibit either bishop, priest or deacon, to put away his wife upon pretence of religion;* and if any such shall abstain from marriage, as in itself abominable, command that he be corrected, or deposed and cast out of the Church;† which canons, though not made by them whose name they bear, yet they are of greater antiquity than the first Nicene Council. And when in that Council it was moved, that bishops and priests, deacons and sub-deacons, might not cohabit with their wives which they had taken before ordination, the motion was presently dashed by the famous Paphnutius, who was himself a single person.‡ Yea, a long time after this Council, we meet with many Popes who were sons of bishops and priests: Pope Theodorus, Silverius and Gelasius I. were the sons of bishops; Pope Boniface I., Felix II., and Agapetus I. were the sons of priests.§ And that we may not think this strange, Gratian himself informs us that the marriage of priests was in those days lawful in the Latin Church, as it was at that time when he wrote in the Eastern Church.||

Nor is this doctrine to be rejected only as contrary to Scripture, and to primitive and apostolical practice, but because of the abominable fruits produced in the Church of Rome by it. For when their clergy might not have wives (which God allowed), instead of them they took whores; which wickedness so far prevailed in that Church, that no less a man than the Cardinal of Cambray informs us, that many clergymen were not ashamed publicly, and in the face of the world, to keep concubines.¶ And the gloss upon Gratian says, that it is commonly said that a priest may not be deposed for simple fornication, because there are few priests to be found without that fault.** And therefore Pope Pius II. had great reason to say that though priests were by the Western Church forbid to marry for

* Ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος ἡ διάχονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικα μη ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας. Can. 5. [Labbe Concil. 1671. vol. 1. col. 25.]

† Canon. 50. [Ibid. col. 37.]

‡ Socrat. Ecclesiast. Hist. l. i. c. 11. [1709. p. 225. col. 2.]

§ Grat. dist. 56. c. 2. Platina in vitis eorum. [Cologne, 1670. col. 192.]

|| Dist. 56. c. 13. [Ibid. col. 195.]

¶ De reform. Eccles.

** Communiter autem dicitur, quod pro simplici fornicatione quis deponi non debet, cum pauci sine illo vitio inveniantur, Dist. 81. c. 6. in Gloss.

good reason, yet there was stronger reason to restore marriage to them again.* This many in the Council of Trent were sensible of, who alleged the great scandal given by incontinent priests, and that there was want of continent persons fit to exercise the ministry :† and therefore the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria required that the marriage of priests might be granted.‡ And the Archbishop of Prague, and the Bishop of Five Churches, desired that married persons might be promoted to holy orders. But this request would not be granted, because if the clergy once come to be married, they will no longer depend on the Pope, but on their prince.§

(6.) The doctrines of the number of the sacraments ; of the character impressed by them, and of the necessity of the priest's intention, defined by the Roman Church as necessary points of faith, are such as cannot be derived from Scripture, or from the tradition of the Church, as is freely acknowledged by many learned men of their own communion.

As the word sacrament is ambiguous, so it is sufficiently known that the Fathers, as they took it in a more strict or large sense, so they either increased or lessened the number of them : and Cassander hath observed that we scarce meet with any man before Peter Lombard, who reduced them to a certain number.|| And that the number seven hath no colour, either from Scripture or the ancient Church, we may be assured, by those goodly reasons upon which it was established by the Council of Trent, viz. there are seven virtues, seven capital vices, seven defects which came by original sin, seven planets, and I know not how many sevens more ;¶ and therefore there are seven sacraments, neither more or less. *Risum teneatis?*

As to the character impressed by three of them (viz. baptism, confirmation, and order), it was so little understood by the Trent Fathers, that they could not agree what it meant, or where to place it. One would have it to be a quality, another to be a relation ; and of those who made it a quality, some said it was one kind of quality, others that it was another ; some placed it in the essence of the soul, some in the understanding, some in the will, &c.**

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, l. 7. p. 680.

† P. 679, 680. ‡ P. 514, and 526. § P. 680, and 747.

|| Consult. Cassand. Art. 13.

¶ History of the Council of Trent, l. 2. p. 234, and 235.

** P. 239.

And in case the intention of the priest be necessary, then, as the Bishop of Minori unanswerably argued in that Council, if a priest, having charge of four or five thousand souls, be an infidel, but a formal hypocrite, and in absolving the penitent, baptizing of children, and consecrating the Eucharist, have no intention to do what the Church doth, it must be said that the children are damned, the penitent not absolved, and that all remain without the fruit of the communion.* And what an horrible abuse is it, to make such things as these articles of faith, and impose them upon all men, to be believed under peril of damnation.

(7.) The doctrine of merits. That the good works of justified persons be truly meritorious; deserve not only the increase of grace, but eternal life, yea an increase of glory.†

Whereas the Scripture tells us, that our goodness extends not to God;‡ that not only all that we do, but all that we can suffer, is not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed:§ that when we have done all those things which are commanded us, we are still unprofitable servants, and have done no more than what was our duty.|| That we can give nothing to God but what we have first received from him; that we are obliged to him for the good we do, as well as for that we receive; since all our good works are entirely owing to his grace, are the free gifts of his Holy Spirit, who worketh in us both to will and to do.¶

Yea, even reason itself teaches us, that whatsoever we are and whatsoever we have, it is all received from him; that we can give nothing to him, that it should be recompensed to us again; that the best services we can perform are no matter of favour, but a debt we owe him; and in case they were wholly our own, yet if put in the balance with that exceeding and eternal weight of glory, would be infinitely too light.

Though therefore we readily grant, that our good works are not only conditions, but necessary qualifications, by which we are made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, and without which we are not so much as capable of enjoying it: though we do not condemn the word merit in that large sense in which it was used by the ancient

* History of the Council of Trent, I. 2. p. 241.

† Concil. Trident. Sess. 6. Can. 32. [1779. p. 54.]

‡ Psalm xvi. 2.

§ Rom. viii. 18.

|| Luke xvii. 10.

¶ Phil. ii. 13.

doctors of the Church, as it signifies a work that is praiseworthy, and to which God hath promised a reward, as it denotes a means appointed by God, in order to the bringing us to heaven. Yet we can in no wise grant that any works of ours are truly, and in a proper sense, meritorious ; but whatsoever right is thereby acquired to eternal life, it is founded in the gracious promise of God, who hath declared that he will reward our poor and imperfect services with glory, honour, and immortality.

(8.) Though every sin be in its own nature deadly, yet the distinction of sins into mortal and venial, is in a sense admitted by Protestants, viz. if by mortal be meant such a grievous sin, as actually excludes a man from the favour of God, and puts him into a state of damnation ; as all those do, mentioned 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, and every other wilful sin. By venial, such a lighter sin, for which God in the Gospel covenant makes allowances, and which he will not impute to condemnation, to those who sincerely endeavour to do whatsoever he commands ; as sins of ignorance and mere infirmity.

But this distinction, as it is commonly explained and applied by the Romish doctors, is plainly destructive of a holy life, and one of the greatest encouragements to vice. For a venial sin in their divinity is a sin, that in its own nature is so light and small, that it cannot deprive a man of the favour of God, or render him obnoxious to eternal death.* And if you ask them, what sins in particular these venial sins are, scarce any sin can be named, but some or other of their most approved casuists will tell you it is no more than venial ; even lying and slandering, false witness and perjury, theft and covetousness, gluttony and drunkenness, are placed in the catalogue of these little harmless sins. Now let these venial sins be never so numerous, the greatest evils (which according to their doctrine) they can expose a man to, are no more than the temporary pains of purgatory ; and these (they tell us) may be bought off at so cheap a rate, that there is no man in such unhappy circumstances, but he may purchase his release from them. And what then remains to give check to a man's sinful appetites ?

* Peccatum aliquod dicitur Veniale ex natura sua, et propria ratione ; et est illud, quod ex se, et sua natura, est tam leve et tam minutum, ut non valeat aliquem privare gratia divina, aut facere illum Dei inimicum, aut reddere illum dignum morte æterna. Alphons. de Castro advers. Hæres. l. 12. fol. 210. [1565.]

(9.) But for their looseness in venials, some may think they have made amends by the severity of their doctrine concerning mortal sins. For no man (as their Church teaches) can obtain the pardon of these without confession to a priest, and performing the penances he imposes for them. And this confession must be complete ; not only of the kinds, but of the particular sins, together with the circumstances which change the kind, that a penance may be enjoined proportionable to them.*

But besides that, we find no such sort of confession required by Christ or his Apostles ; no, nor used in the Church for more than four hundred years. But on the contrary, that our blessed Saviour proposes pardon of sin, how mortal soever, upon condition of sincere repentance and new obedience ; besides that, the thing itself is unpracticable. For how shall an ignorant mechanic know what those circumstances are that change the kind ? When perhaps his confessor is not able to tell him ? How shall he know which sins are mortal, and which are venial ? when their most learned casuists are at no agreement among themselves about them, but that which one says is mortal, another says is no more than venial ; and their seraphical doctor affirms, “That many sins are believed to be venial that are mortal, and it is a most difficult thing to discern the one from the other.”† Besides, I say, these and many other insuperable prejudices that lie against it ; as the matter is managed in the Church of Rome, it wholly defeats its own design. For what man will be ashamed to do that which is done upon course, by the best men in their church ; the priest, the bishop, yea the Pope himself not excepted ? And who will be afraid of the most formidable sin, when the penance imposed for it is usually trifling, and next to nothing ; so far from giving check, that it is one of the strongest provocations to sin ? For what greater encouragement can a man desire, than to purchase a pardon upon such easy terms ?

(10.) I need not shew that the doctrine of purgatory, as taught by the Church of Rome, cannot derive its pedigree, either from the Scripture or the primitive Fathers ; because it is freely confessed by many of her own members, that it hath no foundation in either of them. Yea, a late learned writer of

* Concil. Trident, sess. 14. c. 5. de Poenitent. [1779. p. 138, &c.] Can. 4 et 7. [p. 148, 149]

† Multa enim frequenter creduntur esse Venialia, quæ Mortalia sunt, et difficillimum est in talibus discernere. Bonavent. l. 2. dist. 24. part 2. Dub. 1. [p. 297. col. 2. B. 1609.]

that Church hath proved by great variety of arguments, that it is plainly repugnant to Scripture, to reason, and to the judgment of the ancient Church, and exposed the vanity of those pretended proofs which are commonly brought for it.*

And yet it is no wonder, that the Romish clergy so zealously contend for it ; that the Council of Trent hath established it ; and that Pope Pius IV. hath put it into the Roman creed,† because this is that by which they make spoil of the people, and enrich themselves. This alone hath erected and richly endowed many fair abbeys and monasteries ; this hath founded many colleges, chapels, and chantries ; this hath set up and maintained the gainful trade of indulgences and masses. Let the people be once disabused, and rightly informed in this point, masses for the dead will grow out of fashion, and indulgences will be despised as nothing worth. For,

(11.) The doctrine of indulgence is another new article of the Roman creed. This is generally owned by the learned Romanists themselves. In particular, Durandus (one of their famous schoolmen) acknowledges, “That little that is certain can be said concerning them, because the Scripture speaks not expressly of them : and the holy Fathers, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome, make no mention of them.”‡ And Cardinal Cajetan grants, “That no sacred Scripture, no authority of the ancient doctors, Greek or Latin, hath brought the original of them to our knowledge.”§ And no wonder, because their original bears a much later date than either the sacred Scripture or the authority of the ancient doctors ; for the learned Romanist before mentioned tells us, that for ought he could find, indulgences were not thought on, before the age of the schoolmen.|| That is, twelve hundred years after

* Tho. Ang. ex Albiis Est-Saxon. de medio Animarum statu.

† Bull. super formam Jurament. Confess. Fidei. [tom. 4. par. 2. p. 203. col. 2. 1745.]

‡ De Indulgentiis pauca dici possunt per certitudinem, quia nec Scriptura expresse de eis loquitur : sancti etiam, ut Ambrosius, Hil. Aug. Hieron. minime loquuntur de Indulgentiis. Durand. l. 4. dist. 20. q. 3. [fol. 400. K. 1508.]

§ De ortu Indulgientiarum, si certitudo haberi posset, veritati indagandæ opem ferret : verum quia nulla sacræ Scripturæ, nulla priscorum Doctorum, Græcorum aut Latinorum, authoritas scripta hanc ad nostram deduxit notitiam. Opusc. tom. 1. Tract. 15. c. 1.

|| De his Indulgentiis ante Scholasticorum ætatem, quod sciām, suspicio nulla. De medio Animarum statu. Demons. 27. [p. 118. 1653.]

Christ : and, therefore, no mention is made of them by Gratian, or the master of the sentences.

It is true, that in the primitive Church, severe and long penances were imposed upon scandalous offenders, the rigour of which, upon weighty considerations, was sometimes moderated by the bishop ; and this relaxation was called by the name of indulgence. But the Popish indulgences are quite of another nature : for they suppose a treasure in the Church, made up of the merits of Christ and the saints (the saints must be added to supply the defect of Christ's merits) which is wholly at the Pope's disposal ; which, therefore, he dispenses to others as he thinks fit, to discharge them from those temporal punishments to which they are obnoxious for their venial sins in purgatory.

Nor are these indulgences (as the practice of their Church is) limited to the souls in purgatory, and to those punishments which are due to venial sins only ; but granted to all persons indifferently who will pay for them ; and for all sins be they never so enormous.

To such an excess of abomination were the doctrine and practice of indulgences grown about the time of the Reformation ; such an intolerable reproach were they to our holy religion, that the more sober Romanists themselves cried shame on them.*

(12.) Another error (and that which is, indeed, the main foundation of many of those already mentioned, and of many more which follow under the next head), is this, that unwritten traditions ought to be added to the holy Scriptures, to supply their defect, and ought to be received as of equal authority with them.

Whereas the Scriptures themselves (which the Romanists acknowledge to be an infallible, though but an imperfect rule), do frequently bear witness of their own sufficieney, as to all matters necessary to salvation.† I say, all matters necessary to salvation ; because we do not assert that all things belonging to rites and ceremonies, and to the external polity of the Church, are contained in them, except only in general rules, by which the particular determination of them is committed to the discretion of our governors ; but we affirm, that there is no article of faith, or rule of life, that is necessary to be believed or practised, that is not either in express words contained in them,

* Espenœus in cap. 1. Ep. ad Tit. Onus Ecclesiæ, c. 15. Eras. 1. 30. Ep. 57.

† Psalm xix. 7. John xx. 31. 2 Tim. iii. [15.]

or by evident consequence may be deduced from them ; so that supposing them to be the word of God, we need no other rule in such matters.

And it is certain, that the ancient Fathers were of the same judgment. I shall produce the words of St. Austin only, “In those matters,” saith he, “which are plainly placed in Scripture, all those things are found, which contain faith, and the manners of holy living, viz. hope and charity.”* In which words he affirms, not only that all things belonging to faith and manners are contained, but that they are plainly contained in the Scripture. And in another place the same Father says, “If an angel from heaven shall preach to you any thing concerning Christ, or his Church, or concerning any thing which belongs to faith or life, besides what you have received in the writings of the law and the Gospel, let him be accursed.”†

It is true, the Fathers in their contests with heretics, do frequently press them with the tradition of the Catholic Church ; but then it must be remembered, that the heretics, against whom they disputed, were either such as denied the authority of the whole, or the greater part of the Scripture, or such as insisted upon tradition, and pleaded that in defence of their errors ; that, therefore, they might beat them at their own weapons, the Fathers confuted them by tradition too. But they never set up tradition as another word of God, or sought thereby to establish any thing as an article of faith, or a piece of necessary worship, that they thought was not to be found in the Scripture. As the Church of Rome does, which under pretence of apostolical tradition, obtrudes upon the Christian world, as matters of necessary belief and practice, such things as are but of yesterday ; such things as are doubtful and uncertain ; such as are childish and trifling ; yea, such as are false and impious, plainly contrary to Scripture, and to primitive doctrine and practice.

That I may not be over tedious, I forbear to mention many other errors in doctrine, and proceed to the next general head of corruptions.

2. The Church of Rome hath not only erred in doctrines

* In iis quæ aperte in Scriptura posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem, moresque vivendi; spem scilicet atque charitatem. De doct. Christiana, l. 2. c. 9. [vol. 3. p. 24. D. ed. 1680.]

† Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunque alia quæ pertineret ad fidem vitamque nostram, &c. Aug. contra literas Petil. l. 3. c. 6. [Ibid. vol. 9. cap. 301. E. ed. 1688.]

of faith, but hath also grossly swerved from that rule of worship which Christ hath given us, and from the practice of the primitive Church ; and set up a worship of their own invention in direct opposition thereunto. I shall instance, in some particulars.

First : in having their public worship in an unknown tongue. This is expressly condemned by our Church, as a practice plainly repugnant to the word of God, and to the custom of the primitive Church.*

That it is plainly repugnant to the word of God no man can be ignorant who knows what is written in the fourteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which the Apostle so directly, and with such variety of arguments, confutes this unreasonable service, that it is as easy to make midnight and noonday meet, as to reconcile them one to the other.

Nor is it less contrary to the custom of the primitive Church. That in the first ages of Christianity every Christian Church had the public prayers and administration of the Sacraments in their own tongue, I need not prove by citing the testimonies of those persons who lived in those ages ; because the learned men of the Church of Rome do themselves confess it, which is a proof more convincing than a thousand other witnesses. Out of many which offer themselves I shall produce a few, whose authority is beyond exception.

Their great Aquinas grants, “That it was madness in the primitive Church to speak in a tongue not understood, because they were rude in ecclesiastical rites, and did not know those things that were done, unless they were expounded. But now,” saith he, “that all are instructed, though all things are spoken in the Latin tongue, they know what is done in the Church.”† Cardinal Bellarmine grants, “That in the primitive times, because the Christians were few, all sang together in the Church, and answered in the divine offices ; but afterward the people increasing, it was left to the clergy alone to perform prayers and praises in the Church.”‡ Mr. Harding, to this exception of the Protestants, “St. Paul requires that

* It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayers in the Church, or to administer the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.—Articles of Religion, Anno 1562. Art. 24, [p. 99. ed. 1842.]

† Aquin. Comment. in 1 ad Corinth. c. 14. Sect. 5. [p. 95. col. 4. 1528.]

‡ Bell. de verbo Dei. l. 2. c. 16. [vol. 1. p. 150. D. ed. 1601.]

the people give assent to the priest, by answering to his prayers made in the congregation," returns this answer : " Verily in the primitive Church this was necessary, when the faith was a learning ; and therefore the prayers were made then in a common tongue, known to the people, for cause of their further instruction, who being of late converted to the faith, and of Painims made Christians, had need in all things to be taught," &c. And again, " Whereas St. Paul seemeth to disallow praying with [a strange] tongue in the common assembly ; because of want of edifying, and to esteem the utterance of five words or sentences with understanding of his meaning, that the rest may be instructed thereby, more than ten thousand words in a strange and unknown tongue ; all this is to be referred to the state of that time, which is much unlike the state of the Church we be now in : they needed instruction, we be not ignorant of the chief points of religion : they were to be taught in all things ; we come not to Church specially, and chiefly to be taught at the service, but to pray, and to be taught by preaching : their prayer was not available for lack of faith, and therefore was it to be made in the vulgar tongue for increase of faith ; our faith will stand us in better stead if we give ourselves to devout prayer."* Thus we see he grants that the public prayers were in the Apostolical times in the vulgar tongue, and that it was necessary they should be ; but nothing can be more false and absurd than the reason he gives, why it was necessary then, and not now. Add to these the infallible testimony of Pope Gregory VII., who, though he would not permit the celebration of divine offices in the Sclovonian tongue, yet confessed that the primitive Church had them in the vulgar language.†

So that by the confession of the Romanists themselves, the Church of England has in this point no further departed from the Church of Rome, than the Church of Rome hath from the ancient Church. If they can instance, in any Church in the world, that for above five hundred years after Christ worshipped God in a language that the people did not understand, we will yield the cause.

And may it not justly be a matter of amazement, that for the serving of some poor worldly ends, the Church of Rome should introduce a practice that renders the worship of God useless and insignificant ? That destroys not only the end of

* Artic. 3. Divis. 28 and 30.

† History of the Council of Trent, I. 6. [1620.] p. 578.

prayer, but is inconsistent with the nature of it? That is so absurd and unreasonable, that St. Paul thought they deserved to be reckoned madmen who in such sort pray to God.*

So evident is this, that many great men of the Church of Rome acknowledge it would be better to have the public offices in the vulgar tongue. So Cardinal Cajetan confesses, "That according to the doctrine of St. Paul, it is more for the edification of the Church that the public prayers should be said in a tongue common to the clergy and people, than in Latin."† And Mr. Harding says, "I grant they (viz. the people) cannot say Amen to the blessing or thanksgiving of the priest so well as if they understood the Latin tongue perfectly."‡ And Father Paul thought the Latin service a great corruption and abuse, as we may see in his History of the Council of Trent.§ In which he also tells us, "That in the Roman pontifical there remaineth yet a form of the ordination of readers in the Church, in which it is said that they must study to read distinctly and plainly, that the people may understand."|| To conclude this: upon these and such like considerations, the Emperor at the Council of Trent required, "That divine service might be so said, that it might be understood both by him that said it, and by him that heard it."¶

2. Another corruption is the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. The Church of England doth not quarrel at the name of sacrifice; she not only grants, but asserts, that the eucharist is a commemorative and representative sacrifice. And this was the meaning of the ancient fathers, who frequently call it a remembrance or commemoration, a resemblance or representation of the sacrifice which Christ once offered upon the cross.** And this is as much as Cassander seems to mean by it.††

* 1 Cor. xiv. [23.]

† Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur, quod melius est ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ, orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi Clericis et Populo, quam dici latine. Comment. in c. 14. Ep. 1. ad Corinth.

‡ Artic. 3. Divis. 29.

§ 1. 6.

|| Ibid.

¶ History of the Council of Trent, [l. 6. 1620.] p. 513.

** Euseb. Demonst. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. [p. 37. B. ed. 1688.] Οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν καθάπερ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δεῖ ποιῶμεν, μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας. Chrysost. Hom. 17. in Epist. ad Heb. [vol. 12. p. 169. A. ed. 1735.]

†† Cassand. Consult. Art. 24. de Sacrificio Corp. et sang. Christi. [1608. p. 207.]

But this will not satisfy the present Church of Rome ; but Christ (as they will have it) is truly and properly sacrificed ; that is, according to their own notion of a sacrifice, Christ is truly and properly put to death as often as the priest says mass. For in a true sacrifice (as Bellarmine tells us*) the thing sacrificed must be destroyed ; and if it be a thing that hath life it must be killed : and so, indeed, many of the Romanists roundly assert that Christ every day is by the mass-priest.

Which besides that it is contrary to the doctrine of the ancient Church, and to the words of the Apostle, who tells us, "That Jesus Christ offered not himself often, as the high priest entered into the holy place every year with the blood of others ; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world. But now once in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed to men once to die, but after this the judgment ; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many."† And again, "That after Christ had offered one sacrifice for sins, he for ever sat down on the right hand of God. And that by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."‡ And whereas the Apostle argues the perfection of Christ's sacrifice, above those of the law, because those were offered year by year, but the sacrifice of Christ's body was offered once for all : if Christ be daily sacrificed in the mass, the sacrifice of Christ must be much more defective than those of the law : for one sacrifice of expiation for the whole congregation of Israel was thought sufficient for the whole year ; whereas the sacrifice of Christ's body is repeated every day : yea, for one single person he may be sacrificed a thousand times over ; and this sacrifice so often repeated, and a thousand times more, may perhaps be of so little virtue, as not to procure the release of that one poor soul out of purgatory.

Consider further, that this is inconsistent with the end they assign of sacrifice, which is to testify our subjection to God, which cannot be done by offering up God himself in sacrifice ; for what we offer in sacrifice we are not subject to, but have the disposal of, and dominion over it.

Besides all this, it is a piece of worship more absurd and

* De Missa l. 1. c. 2. et c. 27. [vol. 3. p. 941. C. 1041. D. ed. 1601.]

† Heb. ix. 25, 26, 27, 28.

‡ Heb. x. 10, 12, 14.

impious than was ever practised by the most barbarous heathen ; they indeed sometimes offered their sons and daughters in sacrifice, but we never read that they were so sottish as to make a sacrifice of their God. And therefore our Church hath deservedly condemned the sacrifices of masses, as blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.*

3. The solitary mass, in which the priest alone, who consecrates, communicates, can no way be reconciled, either with the doctrine and institution of Christ, who, when he had broken the bread, gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take ye, eat ye," and commanded his disciples to do as he had done : or, with the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who supposes them to meet together to eat the Lord's body, and commands them to stay one for another.† And from this meeting, the sacrament was called by the ancients "Synaxis," the collection or gathering together of the faithful ; as it is still called by us the Communion.

Furthermore, it is inconsistent with the nature and intentment of the sacrament, which is a feast of love, and designed to unite us more closely together in brotherly love one to another, by representing to us, by our eating together at the same table, and partaking of one and the same loaf, that we all belong to one family, and are children of one Father.

It is contrary to the practice of the Apostles and first Christians, who were wont to assemble on the first day of the week to break bread.‡ And that it was unknown to the Christian Church for many ages, is freely confessed by the Romanists themselves ; even Bellarmine grants that we nowhere expressly read that the sacrifice was offered by the ancients, without some one or more communicating besides the priest ;§ though it is true, he says, we may, by many conjectures, collect that it was : but how weak his conjectures are will be evident to any man who will be at the pains to read them. Harding confesses that in the primitive Church, the people received every day with the priest ; and that private mass came in afterwards by the negligence and indevotion of the people.|| Cassander questions whether solitary mass came not first into use after the days of Gregory the Great (that is, more than six hundred years after

* Articles of Religion, anno 1562. Art. 31. [p. 102. ed. 1842.]

† 1 Cor. xi. [33.] ‡ Acts xx. 7.

§ Bell. de Missa. l. 2. c. 9. [p. 1079. B. ed. 1601.]

|| Article 1. Divis. 7.

Christ), and shews how, at its first rise, it was disallowed and condemned, not only by particular persons, but by some Councils.* It is plain that it was not in use in the Church of Rome in ancient times, and that it cannot be reconciled with the Roman office as it now stands, in which the priest prays and gives thanks, not only for himself, but for the communicants. And what a mockery is it for the priest to say, “The Lord be with you, lift up your hearts, and let us give thanks to the Lord God,” when he hath not so much as one that partakes with him? And therefore the Church of England hath, upon good grounds, abolished it, and ordained that there shall be no celebration of the Lord’s Supper, except there be a convenient number to communicate.†

4. Another instance of gross corruption in worship is the half communion. That Christ instituted and administered the Eucharist under both kinds, and that it was likewise so administered by the primitive Church I need not prove, because it is expressly granted by the Council of Constance, which sacrilegiously forbade the cup to the laity. For though, saith the Council, Christ instituted and administered to his disciples this venerable sacrament under both kinds of bread and wine; and although, in the primitive Church, it was received by the faithful under both kinds; yet notwithstanding, for the avoiding of some dangers and scandals, this custom is upon reasonable grounds introduced, that it be received by lay people under the kind of bread only: and then commands that no priest shall administer it in both kinds to any layman, under pain of excommunication.‡

It may be presumed that the scandals were great, and the reasons weighty, that moved the Council to make a decree in plain defiance to Christ’s institution: I shall therefore mention them, and leave them to the judgment of the reader. John Gerson, who was himself present at the Council, in a treatise which he wrote in defence of that decree, hath told us they were these:—1. The danger of spilling the wine. 2. The danger in carrying it from place to place. 3. In defiling the vessels (which ought to be kept as sacred things), by being touched and handled by laymen. 4. In the long beards of the laymen. 5. In keeping the consecrated wine for the use of the sick; because vinegar may be generated in the vessel, and so

* Cassand. Consult. de Solit. Missis. [1608, p. 218, &c.]

† Rubric after the Communion.

‡ Concil. Const. Sess. 13.

the blood of Christ would cease to be there, and pure vinegar would be administered for the blood of Christ ; [though, by the way, if the consecrated wine be transubstantiated, it seems strange that it should degenerate into vinegar] besides, in summer flies may be generated, and sometimes it may putrify and become loathsome ; and some might loath to drink it, because many others had drank of it before. 6. Wine would be chargeable, especially in such places where it is scarce. There would be, moreover, danger of freezing in winter ; and there would be further danger in giving occasions many ways to the people to believe that which is false : as that laymen, as to the receiving of the sacrament, are of equal dignity with priests.* These were the frightful dangers and horrible scandals which they supposed might arise from permitting the cup to the laity. And is it not strange that such reasons as these should move the Council to depart from Christ's institution, especially when confirmed with that emphatical command, "Drink ye all of it;"† and when that command had been inviolably observed, not only by the Primitive, but by the whole Church, both Greek and Latin, Eastern and Western, for twelve hundred years after Christ ? For Cardinal Bona grants that the whole Church, both lay and clergy, for about one thousand two hundred years, received in both kinds, even in the Church of Rome itself.‡ And Gregory de Valentia (though a Jesuit) tells us that the custom of communicating in one kind began to be generally received, even in the Latin Church, not long before the Council of Constance,§ which began in the year 1414.

And that this innovation might be removed, and the whole sacrament administered according to Christ's institution, was earnestly desired, not only by Protestants, but by many Popish princes and Churches, as is manifest by their requests to that purpose made to the Pope and the Council of Trent. The French ambassador besought the Pope, in the name of the King, the Church, and Prelates of France, that he would grant the communion of the cup to the people.|| The Duke of Ba-

* Gerson. Tract. contra hæres. de Commun. sub utraq. specie.

† Matth. xxvi. 27.

‡ De Rebus Liturgicis, l. 2. c. 18. p. [444. 1671.]

§ Cæpit autem ea consuetudo in Ecclesia Latina esse generalis non multo ante tempora Concilii Constantiensis; in quo tandem pro lege ab omnibus eam consuetudinem esse habendam, decretum est. Greg. de Valent. de legitimo uso Eucharist. c. 10. [vol. 4. p. 1224. A. 1609.]

|| History of the Council of Trent, l. 5. [1620.] p. 459.

varia, at the Council of Trent, demanded by his ambassador, the administration of the Eucharist under both kinds ; and that not for the sectaries' sake, to reduce them, but to retain those who as yet continued in communion with them. The Bavarian was seconded by the Emperor's ambassadors, who represented to the Council that not only the kingdom of Bohemia would never be satisfied without the cup, but that there were Catholics in Hungaria, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Carinthia, Carniola, Stiria, Bavaria, Suevia, and other parts of Germany, who desired the cup with great zeal ; that therefore his Majesty demanded it, not for the heretics, but for the Catholics only.*

Though these already mentioned are corruptions which loudly called for a Reformation, yet behold greater abominations than these ; as—

5. The giving divine worship to the consecrated bread in the Eucharist. This the Church of England hath declared to be abominable idolatry.†

And that it can be no less is granted by many learned men of the Church of Rome, in case the bread and wine, after consecration, be not really changed into the natural body and blood of Christ, but remain the very same, for substance, that they were before. And that there is no substantial change wrought in them we are fully assured by sense, by reason, by Scripture, and by the authority of the ancient Church ; and if these are not sufficient grounds of assurance, we can be assured of nothing ; but for ought we know, even we ourselves, and all that is in the world, may be nothing but phantasm and delusion.

But suppose, that upon due consecration of the elements, such an incredible change were wrought ; yet no man can be sure that it is indeed wrought, and by consequence that he is not guilty of foul idolatry. The reason is evident, because upon the principles of the Church of Rome, the consecration depends upon such a number of uncertainties, that no man can ever be certain that it is duly made. For if he be not a true priest that consecrates ; if he do not pronounce the words of consecration, and pronounce them aright ; if he do not intend to consecrate, but to abuse the people, then no consecration follows, and consequently no substantial change is effected. And if the Roman doctrine be true, is it possible for the people or for the

* History of the Council of Trent, p. 528, 529.

† The sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored ; for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. Rubric after the Communion.

priest himself to know that he is a true priest? For no man can be so who is not baptized by a priest, whose intention was right in baptizing him, and ordained by a bishop who intended to do what the Church does: and who can tell whether the priest that baptized him, or the bishop that ordained him, had a right intention? And can any man tell, besides the priest himself that consecrates, whether he pronounces the words of consecration, or pronounces them as he ought, when the words are uttered with so low a voice that none can hear what he says? And none certainly but himself, and the Searcher of hearts, can tell whether the priest, when he pretends to consecrate, may not intend to mock the people. Now in these cases no consecration follows, but the bread remains bread still, and a wafer only is worshipped instead of Christ.

And if any say these cases are rare, let a bishop of the Church of Rome answer.* Would to God, says he, they were so, and that in this corrupt age we had not cause to doubt they were many. But suppose they are very few, or but only one, let there be a knave priest who feigneth and hath not an intention to administer the true baptism to a child, who after being a grown man is created bishop of a great city, and liveth many years in that charge, so that he hath ordained a great part of the priests, it must be said that he being not baptized is not ordained, nor they ordained who are promoted by him. So that in that great city there will be neither Eucharist nor confession, because they cannot be without the sacrament of order, nor order without a true bishop, neither can he receive order who is not baptized. Behold millions of nullities of sacraments, by the malice of one minister in one act only. So many uncertainties does consecration depend upon in the Church of Rome, that it may seem highly probable that not one sacrament in a hundred is duly consecrated, and by consequence not one person in a hundred that worships the host, but in so doing, according to their own doctrine, he gives that worship to bread that is due to God only.

It will not save them harmless, nor so much as excuse them, to say that they verily believe it not to be the bread, but the very Son of God; since if they do so, their mistake must be grossly wilful, there being no such exact likeness between Christ and a bit of bread, that any man can mistake the one for the other who is not resolved so to do.

* Bishop of Minori, History of the Council of Trent, l. 2. p. 241. [1620.]

(6.) To make a picture of God is forbidden by God himself in the Holy Scripture. "Take ye therefore good heed to yourselves," saith God to the Jews, "(for ye saw no manner of similitude in the day the Lord spake to you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire) lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, &c."*

It is repugnant to the very nature of God, who is a Spirit, and can no more be represented by a bodily shape, than a thought can. It is an intolerable reproach to, and infinitely derogates from his peerless perfections. It was judged an absurd and a wicked thing by the ancient Christians, as Cassander confesses, and quotes St. Augustine for the proof of it.† "We believe," saith that Father, speaking of Christ, "that he sits at the right hand of God the Father; and yet it is not to be thought, that God the Father is circumscribed by a human shape; that those who think of him should conceive, that he hath either a right-side or a left; or for that the Father is said to sit, is it to be supposed, that it is done with bended knees, lest we fall into that sacrilege, for which the Apostle abhors those, who changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man? For such an image of God, it is unlawful for a Christian to place in the temple, much more detestable to place it in his heart?"‡ Which words plainly shew, what the judgment of Christians in this matter was four hundred years after Christ.

It was condemned by the wiser sort of heathens, as a thing altogether unsuitable to the divine nature. Yea, that very Council which decreed that the image of Christ, and the saints, should be worshipped, thought it not only unlawful, but absurd and impossible to make an image of that being which is spiritual, invisible, and incomprehensible.§ And Durandus, one of the learned schoolmen, says, it is a foolish thing to make images to represent God.||

And yet the practice of the Church of Rome, not only now, but many years before the Reformation, was to picture God the Father, and the adorable Trinity; and so generally hath this practice obtained, that Bellarmine makes that an argu-

* Deut. iv. 15, 16.

† Cassand. Consult. Art. 21. [1608. p. 166.]

‡ Aug. de Fide et Symbolo, c. 7. [vol. 6. p. 157. C. ed. 1685.]

§ Concil. Nicæn. 2. Actione 4. & Actione 7. in Epist. Synodica ad Constantium et Iren.

|| Durand. l. 3. dist. 9. q. 2. [fol. 259. H. 1508.]

ment to prove the lawfulness of it.* “For now,” saith he, “such kind of images are almost everywhere received, and it is not credible, that the Church would universally tolerate that which is unlawful.” He says, “they are almost everywhere received,” and that the Church did universally tolerate them; but in that he says, they are now received, he plainly grants, that they were anciently rejected.

(7.) Another gross corruption in the worship of Rome, which rendered the Reformation necessary, was the worship of images. This also the Church of England hath condemned as idolatrous, and proved it to be so, by the authority of God’s holy Word, and by the testimonies of the ancient Fathers.†

I shall not mention the many Scriptures in which God prohibits, and expresses his abhorrency of this sort of worship, and dreadfully threatens those who practise it; for that would be to transcribe a great part of the Bible. Whosoever can reconcile it with the second commandment, he need not doubt but he may make perjury, and murder, and theft, and false witnessing, to become virtues: which is indeed no more than the Church of Rome does; for to break faith with heretics, to rob and falsely accuse them, yea, and to murder them too, are in their divinity great virtues and necessary duties.

So far were the primitive Christians from worshipping of images, that many of the most learned of them, thought it was a sin so much as to make them; and others who did not scruple the making them, yet thought it unlawful to have them in churches, though for no other use than ornament: and when some in the fourth century, thought they might be permitted in churches, they notwithstanding abhorred the thoughts of giving any manner of worship to them; all which are so fully proved by learned men of our own Church,‡ that I forbear to insist upon them, though it is a matter that needs not proof, because it is confessed by Cassander, that the ancient Christians had a great abhorrence for all veneration of images.§

It is certain the Pope himself was an enemy to image worship for six hundred years after Christ; for Gregory the

* Bell. de Imagin. l. 2. c. 8. [n. 21.]

† Homily against the Peril of Idolatry. [p. 157. ed. 1840.]

‡ Bishop Taylor, Dr. Stillingfleet, &c.

§ Cassand. Consult. Art. 21. [1608. 166, &c.]

Great, to a certain recluse, who desired the image of Christ, expressly answered, that images were not to be worshipped. And in his epistle to Serenus bishop of Marseilles, though he blame him for breaking the images in pieces, yet he praises him, for that he would not suffer them to be worshipped ; he thought they might be of use for the instruction of the ignorant, but would not endure that they should be adored. For it is one thing, saith he, to adore a picture, another thing to learn by the history of the picture what is to be adored ; if any man will make images, do not forbid him, but by all means avoid the worshipping of them.*

But after that they were once brought into churches, men came by little and little to worship them, till at length it was established for a law in the second Council of Nice, that they were to be set up in churches, to the end that they might be worshipped, and that with true and proper worship ; and all those were anathematized who durst say the contrary ; which decree was confirmed by the fourth Council at Constantinople, and afterwards by the Council of Trent.

And though the worship decreed by that Council was of an inferior nature, yet in process of time it was advanced by the Church of Rome to that supreme worship which is proper to God himself. For before Luther's time, the approved doctrine of that Church was, that the very same worship was to be given to the image, that was to be given to the person represented by it ; and therefore to the images of God and of Christ, the worship of Latria, that is, that worship which belongs to God over all blessed for ever. And such as their doctrine was, such was their practice, insomuch that Cassander complains, "That their worship of images, and their vanity in making and adorning them, was nothing inferior to that of the heathens."† We may add, if there was any difference between heathen and Christian Rome, it seems to be this : that the latter hath outdone the former in this piece of idolatry. Add to this—

(8.) Their solemn prayers to saints departed, and that not to intercede for them, but to bestow upon them those temporal and spiritual blessings they stand in need of ; which was the

* Cassand. Consult. Art. 21. l. 9. Epist. 105. [vol. 2. p. 1006. C. ed. 1705.]

† Consult. Cassand. Art. 21. de Imagin. et Simulachris. [1608. p. 175, &c.]

practice of the Church of Rome, and made a part both of their private and public devotions, long before the Reformation.

Now, were it so good and profitable to invoke the saints, as the Council of Trent teaches, it is strange that so great a lover of mankind as St. Paul, when he so frequently commands us to pray, and hath left so many directions concerning prayer, should wholly forget to teach us this lesson. Can it be supposed a worship so pleasing to God, when God hath not given us the least intimation in his word that it is so? For that it hath no foundation in Scripture, we may be assured, when so great a man of the Church of Rome as Cardinal Perron acknowledges, that neither precept nor example is there to be found for it; and when other learned doctors of that Church, not only confess the same, but also give us several reasons why no mention is made of it either in the Old or New Testament.

But this is not all. There is not only nothing in Scripture for it, but much against it: for we are there frequently taught, to offer up our prayers to God alone, through that "one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus."

And had the Fathers been of opinion that saints might be invoked, could they have thought the invocation of Christ a good argument to prove his divinity? Would they have accused the Arians of idolatry for worshipping him, because they supposed him to be no more than a creature? Could they be so sottish as to deride the heathens for worshipping dead men, had they themselves worshipped such? And would not the heathens have retorted their sarcasms? When heathens and Jews both, so often reproached the Christians for worshipping one that was crucified, had they worshipped not only him, but his apostles and disciples too, would they not much more have reproached them for that? But what need of arguments to prove it, when the Fathers themselves plainly tell us, that they made their prayers to God alone?*

It is unreasonable to say, that the Fathers speak of supreme worship only, which the Romanists themselves reserve to God, while they allow an inferior worship to others: because they were not aware of any such difference of worship. All religious worship was, in their account, such as was due to God

* Clemens Alexand. Stromat. l. 7. p. 721. Paris. Edit. 1629. Tertull. Apol. c. 30. [p. 27. A. ed. 1695.] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 27. [vol. 7. p. 218. C. ed. 1685.]

alone. The distinctions of worship into supreme and subordinate, absolute and relative, terminative and transient, as they have no foundation in Scripture, so the Christians of the first ages were ignorant of, they having no such different objects of religious worship, to which these different degrees were to be suited.

And forasmuch as the Romanists themselves make sacrifice proper to God, it seems very absurd to make prayer common to him with others. For sacrifices were not only accompanied with vocal prayers and thanksgivings, but were themselves real prayers and praises, they being sacred rites by which they offered up their petitions and thanks to God as their very names Euctical and Eucharistical teach us. And when prayers and sacrifices are considered apart, and compared the one with the other, God sets the higher value upon prayer, and desires that rather than sacrifice.* If, therefore, sacrifice be a worship peculiar to God, it follows *& fortiori*, that prayer must be so too :

As will be further evident from the very nature of the thing, because prayer is an acknowledgment of those excellencies in the person prayed to, and a payment of those duties to him, which are the sole prerogatives of God. For what are the incommunicable perfections of God himself? If not to be present in all places, to know the secrets of our hearts, and to be able to supply the wants of all those that call upon him? And all these must be supposed to be in him, to whom prayers are addressed by all persons, from all distant places of the world. And what homage can be more proper to him, who is infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, than to submit ourselves to him, to hope and trust in him, and to cast all our care upon him? And all these duties we pay to that Being, to whom we make our prayers. And therefore the Church of England had great reason to charge them with idolatry, who put up their prayers to saints; because, in so doing, they give that worship to the creature, which is due to God alone.†

(9.) I might largely insist upon the worship which the Church of Rome gives to the relics of saints, which is more absurd than that which they give to the saints themselves.

By their relics, they understand not only their dead bodies, and all the parts of them (their nails and hair not excepted)

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* Psal. I.

† Homily against Peril of Idolatry. [p. 157. ed. 1840.]

but all those things that any way appertained to them : yea, whatsoever they touched, and whatsoever touched them, by virtue of that touch, it becomes sacred ; upon which account, no things are had in greater honour with them, than those by which our blessed Lord was put to shame : the thorns that gored him, the nails that pierced him, the cross he was nailed to, because they touched his sacred body, divine honour must be given to them, as the great oracle of their Church hath determined, and by consequence to the Judas that betrayed him. Though with this difference, that not only to the true cross on which our Saviour hung, but to the image of it, divine worship is to be paid ; but not to the images of the nails and spear, but only to those very nails, and that very spear that pierced him.*

And which is yet more monstrous, though it is certain, that these pretended relics, if not all, yet are most of them counterfeit (unless that which is but one can be a multitude), because the same is pretended to be shewed in many places ; yet the same worship is given to the false, that is given to the true relics ; and so the body of a malefactor is sometimes worshipped for that of a saint, and the bones of a beast for those a martyr. But suppose they are true, are they not goodly objects of worship ? Garlick and onions (the Egyptians' deities) may justly be accounted gods right worshipful, when compared with thorns, and nails, and chips, and many other of the Romish gods. So ridiculous are the follies and impieties that are often practised in this relic-worship, that nothing equal was ever found among the most sottish heathen.

I shall therefore spare the pains of shewing, that it is condemned by Scripture, by reason, and that nothing like it was practised by the primitive Christians for more than three hundred years, and shall only tell you what censure a learned and famous man of their own Church hath passed upon this sort of worship. "It is manifest," saith he, "that in later times, too much hath been attributed to the memories and relics of saints, so that even by such good men as have a pious zeal, the sum as it were of religion, is thought to consist in getting

* Crux Christi, in qua Christus crucifixus est, tum propter representationem, tum etiam propter membrorum Christi contactum Latria adoranda est: Crucis vero effigies in alia quavis materia, priori tantum ratione Latria adoranda est. Quantum ad rationem contactus membrorum Christi, adoramus non solum Crucem, sed omnia quæ sunt Christi. Aquin. pars 3. quæst. 25. Art. 4. [p. 53. 1622.]

of relics, and adorning them with gold and jewels, and in building sumptuous temples and memories for the martyrs ; and also by wicked men, a false trust is placed in the needless worship of relics. And out of covetousness," saith he, "false relics are forged, and feigned miracles are published, by which miracles the superstition of the people is nourished, that they are rather transported into admiration of the miracles, than provoked to the imitation of the saints, or the amendment of life. But sometimes by the craft and illusion of the devil, abusing men's superstitious conceits by dreams and visions, new relics were revealed, and by his operation, miracles seemed to be wrought. Also, very many are found, who make merchandise of the relics of saints, whether true or false ; so that almost everywhere, they are carried about by pedlars and the vilest of men, and with many lies are recommended to the ignorant vulgar. But since, at this day, when everywhere all places seem to be full of the relics of saints, it is to be feared, that if bishops and princes would take that pains which they ought, in searching out and judging of true relics, great and detestable cheats would be discovered." And after some other things of the like import, he concludes : " Since, therefore, the true and known relics of the saints, especially in these provinces, are very few, and many of those which are shewn, may be justly suspected ; and since the frequenting and veneration of them, does not serve piety much, but very much serves superstition and gain, it seems much more advisable, that no relics should be shewn, and that the people should be provoked to worship the true relics of the saints, that is, to imitate the examples of their piety and virtues, which are extant either in their own writings, or in the writings of others concerning them."* To conclude this head, we reverence the memories of the saints, especially of the ancient martyrs ; and should we meet with any unquestionable remains of their bodies, we should pay more than ordinary respect to them. We bless God for their exemplary lives and triumphant death, but we dare not worship them, and make them our gods. I proceed now to the next general head of corruptions.

3. Corruption of manners, which at the time of the Reformation, and long before, was grown to that excess, that the great men of the Church of Rome, before cited, who called for

* Consult. Cassand. Art. 21. [1608. p. 160, 163.]

a reformation, thought it especially necessary in regard of manners. And some of them did not stick to publish to the world, that either the ruin of the Church, or some dismal plagues were near approaching, unless prevented by a speedy reformation in their morals. This was the main design of Gerson's Treatise concerning the signs of the ruin of the Church. "And I am bold to say," says the Cardinal of Cambray, in the preface to his book of the Reformation of the Church, "that although they are great evils which we see, yet unless the Church be speedily reformed, we shall in a short time see incomparably greater; after those horrid thunders we have already heard, we shall presently hear others that are more horrible." And the suffragan Bishop of Salzburg, having described the vices of the Roman court, he concludes: "It is vehemently to be presumed, and cautiously to be feared, that the ruin of the Latin Church, as to its ecclesiastical dignity, is near."^{*}

Nor shall we think it strange that considering men apprehended such dreadful evils were approaching, if we consider that this deplorable corruption of manners was—

1. Universal in all states and degrees of men.
2. And more especially in the clergy.
3. And most especially in the Pope and Cardinals.

(1.) There was a general corruption of manners, both in the civil and ecclesiastical state. The Cardinal but now mentioned, having recited the sad complaints St. Bernard made of the corrupt state of the Church in his time, he further adds: "If these things were spoken by blessed Bernard, they may now much more be said; because, since his time, the Church hath proceeded from bad to worse; and in the whole state, as well spiritual as secular, virtue being abandoned, it hath fallen into the shame and filthiness of vice."[†] And supposing all states and orders to be corrupted, he afterwards proceeds to shew, what he thought were the best expedients, both for the reformation of the Church in general, and of the head, and the several subordinate members in particular. Nicholas de Clemangis tells us, "That wicked persons did so much abound in all professions of men, that scarce one among a thousand was to be found who did sincerely live answerable to their professions; and if there was any one that was honest,

* *Onus Ecclesiae*, c. 19. fol. 36.

† *Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend.* [1690. p. 407.]

chaste, and frugal, and did not follow this lewd kind of life, he was made a laughing stock to others, and was presently called, either an insolent and singular madman, or an hypocrite.”* The description of the corrupt manners of all orders of men, both in Church and State, which we find in the book before cited,† is so black and tragical, that it can hardly be read without horror, and that book was published about the beginning of the Reformation. And the Cardinal of Lorrain, forty years after, in his speech to the Council of Trent, attributes all the dismal calamities which had befallen the kingdom of France, to corruption of manners, as one principal cause of them.‡

(2.) And no wonder that all flesh had corrupted their ways, when the lives of the clergy, which should have been the salt of the world, were themselves more corrupt and unsavory than those of the laity. Cardinal Julian, in his epistle to Pope Eugenius IV., tells him, “That the people were above measure incensed against the ecclesiastical state, by the dissolute lives of the clergy, for which,” saith he, “it is greatly to be feared, unless they mend their manners, lest the laymen, after the example of the Hussites, fall foul upon the whole clergy. And in truth, this deformity administers great boldness to the Bohemians, and gives a fair colour to their errors, who especially inveigh against the filthiness of the clergy.”§ The German bishop before quoted, in the words of Catharine of Sienna, gives this character of the common clergy at the beginning of the Reformation:—“The modern and unhappy clergy, addict themselves to temporal things, being destitute of divine light; they love themselves, neglect the love of God and their neighbour; they are worse than worldly men, whom they destroy.

* Sed tanta est improborum in singulis professionibus exuberantia, ut vix inter mille unus reperiatur, qui id quod sua professio exigit, sinceriter faciat. Quinetiam si simplex aliquis, si castus et frugalis in Collegio aliquo vel conventu latam et lubricam perditorum vitam non sectetur, fabula ridicula cæteris efficitur, insolensque et singularis, insanus aut hypocrita continuo appellatur, etc. Nic de Clemang. de corrupto Statu Eccles. c. 25. [p. 23. n. 1. ed. 1613.]

† Onus Ecclesiæ.

‡ Hist. of the Council of Trent, l. 7. [1620. p. 629.]

§ Incitavit me hoc venire deformitas et dissolutio Cleri Alemaniae, ex qua laici supra modum irritantur adversus statum Ecclesiasticum, propter quod valde timendum est, nisi sese emendent, ne laici, more Hussitarum, in totum irruant Clerum, &c. Richer. Hist. Concil. general. l. 3. c. 2. [S. 5.] p. 322, 323. [1683.]

together with themselves. They are addicted to pleasures and infamous practices, and neglect the salvation of the souls of Christ's faithful people. By the lives of such wicked clergymen, the世俗 come to be disobedient and irreverent towards the Church ; they are seduced by blind guides, who, oh shame ! are ignorant idiots, proud, covetous, hypocrites, simoniacal, luxurious, envious, slow to good works, prone to evil, &c. Where at this day can be found that continence in gesture, diet, apparel, and laughter, that becomes the clergy ? At banquets, taverns, plays, and theatres, they are more frequently found than in places dedicated to God. How hugely pernicious to the universal Church, the scurrility, ignorance, fornication, simony, and other crimes are, with which almost the whole clergy is infected, there is no man doubts.”* Much more may be found of the like import in the following part of the chapter. And Nicholas de Clemangis, who was himself an archdeacon in the Church of Rome, represents the clergy of that Church, as the dregs and scum of mankind, as persons, who, for the generality, abandoned themselves to the most loathsome vices, as may be seen in the note at the bottom.†

Nor were the inferior clergy alone chargeable with these immoralities, but the prelates were as bad, or worse than the curates.‡ “The bishops,” says the forementioned author, “serve their own tables instead of the altar ; they are unwise in divine things, while they love the wisdom of the world ; they are more employed in the offices of the exchequer, than in the works of Christ ; they adorn their bodies with gold, they defile their souls with impurity ; they account it a shame to

* *Onus Eccles. c. 21. S. 1.*

† *Jam illud, obsecro, quale est, quod plerisque in Diœcesibus, Rectores Parochiarum ex certo et conducto cum suis Prælatis pretio, passim et publice Concubinas tenent ? De corrupto Statu Ecclesiæ, c. 15. [p. 15. n. 2. 1613.]*

Si quis hodie desidiosus est, si quis à labore abhorrens, si quis in otio luxuriari volens, ad sacerdotium convolat, quo adepto, statim se cæteris sacerdotibus voluptatum sectatoribus adjungit, qui magis secundum Epicurum quam Christum viventes, et cauponulas sedulo frequentantes, potando, comessando, transitando, convivando, cum tesseris et pila ludendo, tempora tota consumunt. Crapulati vero et inepti pugnant, clamant, tumultuantur, nomen Dei et sanctorum suorum pollutissimis labiis execrantur, sicque tandem compositi ex meretricum suarum amplexibus, ad Divinum Altare veniunt, c. 16. [Ibid. p. 16. n. 3.]

‡ *Onus Ecclesiæ, c. 20. S. 3.*

employ themselves in spiritual matters, and their glory is to meddle with those things that are scurrilous. Hence it is said by Catherine of Sienna : they, as men that are blinded, reckon that to be their honour that is truly their shame ; contrary to the canons, they keep about themselves pimps, bawds, flatterers, buffoons ; such as give themselves wholly to vanity, instead of men that are learned, and of good report.” And a little after :* “The bishops neglect due hospitality, by neglecting the poor of Christ, by making themselves fat, by feeding dogs and other beasts, and so one beast feeds another ; as if they chose to be of the number of those against whom the Lord will pronounce that just sentence, ‘I was poor, and ye received me not ; therefore depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire.’ There are few bishops who are not covetous, they take by violence other men’s goods, and wastefully spend the goods of the Church ; they bestow the revenues of the Church, not to pious uses, but upon their kindred, upon stage-players, flatterers, huntmen, whores, and such like persons ; they rather make provision for the wickedness of men, than for the necessities of nature,” &c.

This was the complaint of a popish bishop in the year 1519. And that the matter was not much mended with the Romish clergy more than forty years after, appears by the speech of the Duke of Bavaria’s ambassador to the Council of Trent ; in which he tells the Council, that the cause of the evils that were risen among them, was the bad life of the clergy, whose wickedness was so great, that he could not relate it without offending the chaste ears of the auditory.†

Though it may seem strange that the clergy, who by their very calling are obliged to exemplary purity and holiness, should be so monstrously wicked, yet the wonder will be less if we consider,

(3.) That the vicious lives of the Popes and Cardinals were indeed the main source of that deluge of wickedness, in which the inferior clergy was immersed. We can desire no better proof of this, than the confession of Pope Adrian VI., in his instructions to his legate for the Diet at Nuremburg, in the year 1522. “Thou shalt promise,” says he, “that we will use our utmost endeavours, first that this court may be reformed, from whence, perhaps, all this evil hath proceeded ; that as from thence the corruption flowed to all inferiors, so

* § 9.

† Hist. of the Council of Trent, I. 6. [1620.] p. 527.

from thence the health and reformation of all may proceed.”* This was a rare confession from a Pope, but no more than what the necessity of the thing extorted from him.

For the cardinals were by degrees arrived to such an excess of pride and luxury, as was odious and intolerable to all but themselves, and those whose vices were supported by them. “If a man would make an image of pride (says Clemangis), he can no way do it more to the life than by representing a cardinal to the eyes of the beholders.”† They trampled upon bishops who were their betters, nor would they vouchsafe so much as to salute them, when they fell prostrate upon the ground to worship them; which is more than any king ever assumed.‡ One of themselves (more modest than the rest), when he returned home laden with the spoils of Germany, being asked in Consistory, what the barbarians (so they called the Germans) thought of Rome, which was so kind as to send them those choice wares of indulgences, answered; “That the whole world complained of the pride and luxury of the cardinals.”§ And can any man think there was not just cause for this complaint, who will but consider what vast revenues were spent upon their lusts? “For not two or three, or ten or twenty benefices would suffice, but a hundred or two hundred; yea, sometimes four or five hundred or more were usurped by one cardinal; and those not of the poorer sort, but the fattest and richest of all. And well had it been,” says our author, “for the inferior clergy, had they been content with that prodigious number; but the great mischief was that nothing would satisfy them; but how great a number soever they had, they still more vehemently coveted more.”||

* Sleidan. Comment. l. 4. [1564. fol. 48.] History of the Council of Trent, l. 1. [1620. p. 26.] Richer. Hist. Concil. general. l. 4. par. 2. [c. 5. s. 3.] p. 129.

† Jam vero Cardinalium qui Papæ assident spiritus, verba tumentia, gestus tam insolentes, ut si Artifex quisque vellet superbiæ simulacrum effingere, nulla congruentius ratione id facere posset, quam Cardinalis effigiem oculis intuentium objectando. De corrupto Statu Eccles. c. 10. [p. 11. n. 6. 1613.]

‡ Nec pro quocunque prælato etiam prono adorante eos in terra ponenter manum ad capellum, ut salutarent eum: quod nunquam aliquis Rex aut Princeps fecit, neque hodie permetteret. Responsio Apologet. Gallicanæ Nationis de Annat. non. solvend. apud Richer. l. 2. c. 3. [s. 19. p. 227.]

§ Totum orbem conqueri de luxu fastuque Cardinalium. Fascic. Rerum expetend. ac fugiend. fol. 203. [1690. p. 406.]

|| Non quidem duo vel tria, decem vel viginti, sed centena et ducen-

Nor shall we think it strange to hear of such Cardinals, when we consider what manner of men the Popes themselves commonly were. We need not look back to foregoing ages, in which their own historians tell us they were "monsters" and "prodigies;*" "such tragical examples, and so devoid of all piety, as neither to regard the person they sustained, nor the place they were in;"† that "about fifty popes together did utterly degenerate from the virtue of their ancestors."‡ But passing over these, let us only consider what the Popes were about the time of the Reformation, when the world was now grown weary of the burden of vice, and groaned to be delivered from it; when (if ever) their worldly interest engaged them to put on the show, how much soever they abhorred the reality of virtue.

When, after the death of Innocent VIII., Lionel, bishop of Concordia, in an oration to the Cardinals, pressed them, with the most rousing arguments, to choose a good man, whose life was without scandal.§ What was the effect? Alexander VI. was chosen, a man (if he may be so called) who was the reproach of human nature; who, before he was chosen Pope, was a prodigy of lust and other vices, and continued so to the last; when by the just judgment of God he was poisoned by a mistake, in drinking that cup himself he had prepared to dispatch others.||

tena, et interdum usque ad quadringenta vel quingenta aut amplius. Nec parva et tenuia, sed omnium pinguissima et optima, quibus si contenti essent, postquam ad summam illam numerosam perventum est, nec ultra quererent, prospere cum pauperibus Clericis, qui reliquias earum expectant, ageretur: sed quantumcunque ad numerum aut summam venerint, ad ampliorem festinant, et assidue festinant, et ardentius festinant. De cor. Statu. Eccles. c. 11. [p. 11. n. 1. 1613.]

* Hæc monstra, Hæc Portenta. Plat. in vita Benedicti IV. [p. 148. col. 1. 1611.]

† Non possum non multum mirari, unde tragica hæc Pontificum fluxerint exempla, quam dira pietatis oblivio eorum mentes irrepserit, ut neque personæ quam sustinebant ratio ab his nulla haberetur, neque loci quem tenebant. Sabellic. Ennead. 9. 1. 1. [vol. 2. p. 634. B. 1560.]

‡ Hoc vero uno infelix, quod per annos fere 150. Pontifices circiter quinquaginta à virtute Majorum prorsus defecerint. Genebrard. Chronograph. 1. 4.

§ Raynauld, an. 1492.

|| Quos gemitus Christianorum, vita prodigiosa et spurcissima gesta Alexand. VI. abundantius et ita quidem excivit, &c. Richer. 1. 4. part 1. c. 2. S. 1. [1683. p. 140.]

Cum Alexand. VI. P. P. anno 1503. veneno quod alii paraverat, de improviso extinctus. Id. S. 3. [p. 144.]

Pius III. lived not long enough to let the world know what he would prove, for he died within six-and-twenty days after his election.

Julius II., who succeeded him, his crimes (as Lewis II. king of France tells us) were notorious, and such as scandalized the whole Church.* It is certain he filled Italy with rapines, war and blood; to which he was so addicted, that, contrary to the laws of nations, he commanded the Procurator of the Duke of Savoy to be tortured, because he endeavoured to persuade him to peace.† So monstrous were his acts, that Richerius says he must be made wholly of steel who can read them without horror.‡

Pope Leo X. (in whose time the Reformation began) was a civil debonair gentleman; but so little concerned for religion that he cared not to know what it meant.§ When he admitted discourses of that nature, it was for diversion sake, and to make himself sport. His soul, he thought, was no longer-lived than his body, and therefore he gave himself up to sensual gratifications; and it was indeed but reason, that he who supposed he should die like a beast should live like an epicure.

Adrian VI. promised fair, but God knows, in case he had lived, whether his performances would have answered his promises.

Clement VII., as he got the popedom by simony,|| so he administered it by as ill arts as he got it: his prime virtue was dissimulation; he made no conscience of his word or oath, but brake his covenants as oft as he made them.

Paul III. and Julius III., who followed next: the characters given of them by many of the Romish writers, are so foul and loathsome, that if I had the face to write them, no modest man could read them without blushing.

4. I should now proceed to the last general head of corruptions, viz. corruptions in discipline. But because that is so large a subject, that it is better to say nothing than a little concerning it; and because this discourse is already swelled

* Vide Edict. Reg. Gall. pro. Convocat. Concil. Pisani.

† Richer. Hist. Concil. general. l. 4. par. 1. [c. 2. s. 4.] p. 151.

‡ ————— Nisi ob gesta Julii obstupueris, totus quidem eris ferreus, p. 150. Sup. 1.

§ History of the Council of Trent, l. 1. [p. 4. 1620. He would have been a Pope absolutely complete, if with these he had joined some knowledge of things that concern religion, and some more profession with piety, of both of which he seemed careless.]

|| History of the Council of Trent, l. 1. [Ibid. p. 42.]

beyond the bounds prescribed ; and because what hath been said upon the foregoing heads is more than enough to evince the necessity of Reformation : I shall therefore refer the reader, for satisfaction in this matter, to the History of the Council of Trent, written by Father Paul ; the Review of the Council of Trent ; Mr. Gerson's Sermon before Pope Alexander V., and his Declarat. Defect. viror. Ecclesiast. ; Clemangis's Tracts, de Corrupto Statu Eccles., and de Reparat. et Ruina Eccles., the Hundred Grievances of the German Nation ; Espencæus's Comment on the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus ; the Appeal of the University of Paris from Pope Leo X. ; the Articles of Reformation proposed by the Select Council to Pope Paul III. The twenty points of Reformation proposed by the Emperor's ambassadors to the Council of Trent, and the four-and-thirty proposed by the ambassadors of the King of France. Richerius's history of General Councils, &c.

THE NECESSITY OF REFORMATION, WITH RESPECT TO
THE ERRORS AND CORRUPTIONS OF THE CHURCH
OF ROME.

THE SECOND PART.

WHEREIN IS SHEWED THE VANITY OF THE PRETENDED REFORMATION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT; AND OF R. H.'S VINDICATION OF IT, IN HIS FIFTH DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE GUIDE IN CONTROVERSIES.

THIS will be manifest to all unprejudiced persons, by the proof of these Six Propositions.

Prop. I.—That the Church of Rome is not only fallible, but had actually erred.

Prop. II.—That her errors were not slight, and in matters of small moment; but so gross and enormous, when the Reformation was set on foot, that there was a necessity of reforming them.

Prop. III.—That no hope was left that the Church of Rome would either reform these errors in herself, or give consent to the reformation of them in any other Church that communicated with her.

Prop. IV.—That every particular National Church had a right to reform itself without her leave.

Prop. V.—That this right of the Church of England, in particular, was unquestionable; and therefore, as a necessary conclusion from these premises,

Prop. VI.—That the Church of England was indispensably obliged to reform herself.

The two first of which propositions having been already proved in a foregoing discourse, the third comes next in order to be treated of.

CHAP. I.

No hope of Reformation from the Church of Rome.

Prop. III.—That no hope was left that the Church of Rome would either reform these errors in herself, or give consent to the reformation of them in any other Church that communicated with her therein.

Which, though it contains these two propositions ;

1. That there was no hope that she would reform those errors in herself.

2. That there was no hope that she would consent to the reformation of them in any other Church that communicated with her therein : yet because the latter of these will plainly follow from the proof of the former, I shall therefore insist upon that only.

Though her corruptions were numerous, and many of them in their nature and consequence very dangerous ; yet if she could have been persuaded to purge them out, and return to her primitive purity, the Protestants would have accepted the Reformation from her hands, and have heartily thanked her for it. But alas ! there was no hope left that she would ever be cleansed ; but the greatest reason to fear that “She that was filthy would be filthy still :” as will be manifest by the following considerations. For,

1. Could there be any just ground of hope that she would ever reform, after she had obstinately refused, and shewed herself incorrigible, notwithstanding those frequent complaints that for many ages had been made against her corruptions by many great men, both ecclesiastical and secular, of her own communion ? Passing over those that are more remote, I shall take notice of the complaints of later ages only.

In the twelfth century, the emperor Frederick I.,* Henry II. king of England,† and Lewis VII. king of France,‡ St. Bernard,§ Honorius of Austun,|| Johan. Sarisburiensis bishop of

* Naucleri Chronograph. vol. 2. generat. 39. p. 849. [Colon. 1579.]
Sigon. de Regno. Ital. l. 14. [p. 318, &c. 1591.]

† Matth. Paris in Hen. II. An. 1164, 67, 68. [1641. p. 103, 107, 108.]

‡ Matth. Paris ad Ann. 1146. [1641. p. 81.]

§ Serm. 6. in Psal. 90. [1609. p. 522, &c.] Serm. 33. in Cantic. [p. 668, &c.]

|| De Prædest. et lib. Arbit. Dialog. inter opera Cassand. et in Biblioth. Patr. tom. 15. [1591. p. 318, &c.]

Chartres,* Petrus Blesensis archdeacon of Bath,† Arnulphus, a famous preacher at Rome,‡ made grievous complaints against the tyrannies, usurpations, and abuses of the Pope and his clergy.

In the 13th century the same complaints were continued and increased by the emperor Frederick II.,§ Mænardus count of Tirol,|| Probus bishop of Toul,¶ Everhard archbishop of Saltzburg,** Rob. bishop of Lincoln,†† and Peter Cassiodore.††

In the 14th century, Ludovicus Bavarus, the emperor, with the consent of the States of the empire, proclaimed the Pope to be the arch-heretic, and the Antichrist which sat in the temple of God;§§ Edward III. and Richard II., kings of England, not only complained, but made severe laws against his encroachments.||| And many of prime note among the clergy, such as William Occam, their invincible doctor,¶¶ Leopold bishop of Bamberg,*** Durand bishop of Menda,††† Marsilius of Padua,††† Francis Petrarch archdeacon of Parma. §§§ The divines of Paris and Bononia made doleful outeries against the rapines and oppressions, the pride and covetousness, the luxury and sensuality of the bishop and court of Rome.

In the 15th century, the emperor Sigismund,||| Petrus de

* Policrat. l. 6. c. 24. l. 8. c. 17. [p. 545. 1695.] et in aliis locis.

† Epist. 5, 8. et in multis aliis. [1600. p. 7, 12.]

‡ Platin. in Vita Honorii II. [1574. p. 173.]

§ Aventin. Annal. Bojor. l. 7. p. 531, 532, 542. Bas. 1580.

|| Avent. Annal. Bojor. l. 7. p. 577. [1580.]

¶ l. 7. p. 572, 573. [1580.] ** l. 7. p. 546, 547. [1580.]

†† Matth. Paris in Hen. III. ad An. 1253, 1254. [1641. p. 865, &c. 880. &c.]

†† Epist. de Tyrannide Pontif. Rom. apud. Goldast. vol. 1. [Monarch. 1611. p. 11.]

§§ Aventin. Annal. Bojor. l. 7. p. 610, 611, 612. [1580.]

||| 27 Edw. III. c. 1. & 25. Edw. III. 16. 16 Rich. II. c. 5. & 13. R. II. c. 3. See Coke upon these Statutes, Institut. part 3. c. 54.

¶¶ Disputat. Sup. Potest. Prælat. Eccles. atque Princip. terrar. Commiss. Goldast. vol. 1. [Monarch. 1611. p. 13.]

*** Aventin. l. 7. p. 629. [1580.]

††† Tract. de modo General. Concil. Celebrand. partis 3. tit. 1. 27, 28, 29. et passim in aliis titulis.

††† Defens. Pacis, pars 2. c. 23, 24, 25, 27. et per totam.

§§§ Epist. de jur. Imp. Rom. et Injur. Pap. Rom. Ejusque Asseclar. Goldast. Monarch. tom. 2. p. 1345. [1611.]

|||| Goldast. Constit. Imper. p. 1. p. 146. [1607.]

Alliaco cardinal of Cambray,* John Gerson chancellor of Paris,† Nic. de Clemangis archdeacon of Bayeux,‡ Jacob. de Paradiso,§ and many more, made dismal complaints of corruptions and abuses, and vehemently called for the reformation of them.

And what was the fruit of all these complaints and outcries ? Was any grievance removed ; any abuse reformed ? No, not so much as one ; but rather, on the contrary, the corruptions were daily increased and multiplied, like an impetuous and irresistible torrent, they swelled the higher by how much the more they were opposed.

Obj. It will perhaps be said that these complaints were made against the corruptions of the Court, not of the Church of Rome.

Ans. It is true that many of them were more immediately levelled against the Pope and his Court ; those especially made by Kings and Emperors, who chiefly concerned themselves in vindicating their rights against the usurpations of the Court of Rome : but many more against those corruptions which generally obtained in the Church. And the truth is, the corruptions of the Court cannot be confined to themselves, but derive themselves into, and overspread the Church, so that it can hardly be avoided, but that in proportion to the corruption of the one will be that of the other (as will appear in the sequel of this discourse).

2. The reformation of the Church of Rome was yet more hopeless, because not only these, but many other attempts made toward it, had by the Pope and his Court been already defeated. How earnestly did the Emperor Sigismund endeavour that a reformation might be wrought by the Council of Constance ? And many decrees were passed by the Council in order to it.|| And what was the event ? Did any reformation follow thereupon ? Not the least ; the decrees were all eluded by the Popes.¶ Which Gerson reflecting upon, makes this remark : "I see," says he, "that a reformation will never be made by a Council, without the presidency of such a guide as is well affected

* De Emendat. Eccles. Patrib. olim oblat. in Concil. Constant.

† Serm. de Tribulat. ex defect. Ecclesiast. Regim. et Serm. coram P. P. Benedict. et Alexand.

‡ Tract. de corrupt. Statu Eccles. [p. 4. 1613.] et de Reparat. et Ruina Eccles.

§ Collect. de Sept. Statib. Eccles.

|| Sess. 4, 5, 39, 40.

¶ Richer. Hist. Concil. General. l. 2. c. 3. p. 261. [1683.]

toward it.”* And that he was not in this a false prophet is too manifest by the like fruitless event of succeeding Councils. None ever more endeavoured the reforming of abuses, and the restoring the Church to its rights and liberties, than the Council of Basil; but to as little purpose as the Council of Constance had done before: for when the Pope saw what they were resolved upon, he brake the Synod in pieces, by translating it first to Ferrara, and then to Florence, (whither a great part of them refused to go, and declared those that went a conventicle of schismatics,) and then not a word more was heard of reformation:† and though some good constitutions and decrees were made by it, yet so far was the Pope from putting them in execution, that he rejected them all, and made it his endeavour to punish those who observed them; as Tho. de Orbello, the Nuncio of the Council of Basil, told the Council of the Church of France assembled at Bourges.‡

The Fathers of the second Pisan Council decreed to reform the Church; but before they could put their decree in execution, that Council was dissolved by Julius II., who pronounced them a pack of schismatics, and threatened damnation to all those who adhered to them; and by a Council of his own choosing, summoned to Rome, reprobated and disannulled all their acts.§

When the Princes and States of Germany would no longer be put off with words, but in case the Pope would not effectually set himself to reform, threatened to take the work into their own hands,|| the utmost that could be obtained from Campegius, the Pope’s Legate, was such a light reformation of the inferior clergy, as would have proved a remedy worse than the disease. As for the abuses of the Court of Rome, (the source from which all others derived themselves) he would yield nothing; but when they began to discourse of them, he either said that it was heresy to reprehend them, or that he referred

* Richer. Hist. Concil. General. l. 2. c. 3. p. 261. [1683.]

† Richer. l. 3. p. 481. [1683.]

‡ Verum magnus dolor in ecclesiam irruit, cum ille qui primus sacros canones exequi debebat, et cæteris viam salutis ostendere, omnia hæc constituta et decreta (quantum ipsum concernebant) rejiciebat; ita ut nullum unquam decretum Concilii concernens reformationem, in efficacem executionem ponere compertus est: quinimo condemnationes censurarum et poenarum in eos proferre conabatur, qui ea decreta observabant. Richer. l. 3. p. 605, 606. [1683.]

§ Sleidan. Comment. l. 2. [1610. p. 34.]

|| Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. fol. 188.

them to the Pope himself.* Since therefore the heads of the Church of Rome had withstood and defeated so many attempts for reformation, he must needs be a man of a sanguine temper who could still hope that he should at length see her reformed.

3. There was yet greater reason to despair of ever seeing this, because after all these complaints and endeavours, her corruptions were so far from being removed, that they were indeed confirmed, rendered more fixed and immovable than they were before. That patient doubtless is desperate, who is made more sick by the most proper means of cure. This was plainly the case of the Church of Rome ; by the medicines applied her disease was strengthened, and became more obstinate. For in the last Lateran Council, that nothing might remain to give check for the future to the exorbitances of the Pope and his Court, the Pragmatic Sanction was abrogated, and so much of the Council of Basil, as set bounds to their lawless tyrannies ; the constitution of Pope Boniface VIII. was renewed,† which determines it necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome ; and the Pope's supremacy set so high, that none might say unto him, what dost thou ?

It is true, this Council was summoned by Julius II. upon pretence of reforming the Church ; but that which he really intended was, to defeat the reformation decreed by the Council of Pisa, as Du Ranchin tells us :‡ and that this was no uncharitable surmise, is sufficiently evident by the event. For what one act can be mentioned of Julius, during those five sessions he lived, that so much as looked toward a reformation ? And when after some years travel, by the midwifery of Pope Leo X., something called a reformation was brought forth, what was it else but a reformation from better to worse ? For as it takes no notice of any corruption in faith or worship, but supposes them entirely sound ; so

1. Not one in ten of those abuses in other matters, which were most complained of, are so much as mentioned ; as will appear to any man who will be at the pains to compare it with the grievances which not long after were presented by the Princes of Germany to Pope Adrian VI.,§ and with the articles of reformation presented by the select Council to Paul III. ;||

* Soave's Hist. of the Council of Trent, 1. 1. p. 32, printed at Lond. 1640. [p. 31. 1676.]

† Sess. 11.

‡ Review of the Council of Trent, 1. 4. c 7.

§ Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. fol. 177, 178.

|| Richer. 1. 4. p. 136. [1683.]

and with other catalogues of abuses concerning ecclesiastical persons and things, published long before by Petrus de Alliaco, Gerson, and other members of their own Church. As for those abuses which it meddles with, what are they for the greater part but such as were in matters of small moment? How trifling is all the reformation that concerned the Cardinals, who above all others (his Holiness only excepted) stood in need of being reformed!

2. Several of those abuses it would seem to abolish, it does it with such reserves and exceptions, as do in truth give protection to them. For instance, in the first decree, which is ushered in with such a solemn preface, that if a man read no further, he will conclude that certainly some great matter follows; and so indeed it is as to the matter of the decree, but then an exception is added, which renders it utterly insignificant. For the decree is that patriarchal, metropolitical and cathedral churches, and monasteries, shall be disposed, not at the instance of any person by way of commendam; but shall be provided with such bishops and abbots as are of suitable age, learning, and gravity of manners. Hitherto well; but see now the exception: Unless it shall be thought good, that with respect to the profit of the churches, they be conferred upon men otherwise qualified, upon the account of their prudence, nobility, probity, experience, or for that they have been ancient courtiers, and deserved well of the apostolic see.* Is not the mockery now manifest? Does not the exception pull down as much as the decree sets up? Was not the Church (notwithstanding this solemn decree) like to be provided with excellent bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs, when it was sufficient qualification that they were noblemen, ancient courtiers with a competency of learning, or such as had done the Pope good service? To as good purpose was it decreed that no man should be dispensed with to hold more than two incompatible benefices, without a great and urgent cause.† For when the Pope has a mind to gratify a favourite, will he not easily find such a cause? Beside, that a manifest abuse is hereby established, viz. dispensations without any urgent cause to as many as the Pope pleases, to hold two such benefices as are incompatible.

* *Nisi ratione utilitatis ecclesiarum, prudentiae, nobilitatis, probitatis, experientiae, atque curialitatis antiquae cum competenti literatura, et in sedem Apostolicam meritorum, aliter visum fuerit faciendum.* Sess. 9, in Decret. Reformat.

† *Bulla Reformat.* Sess. 9.

3. Instead of the removal, some very pernicious corruptions and abuses were by express law established. I shall instance in one, viz. the exemption of churchmen (both as to their persons and purses) from the jurisdiction of all secular powers ;* which is utterly inconsistent with civil government, and hath been one main cause of those numberless treasons, seditions and rebellions in which that Church hath the pre-eminence of others.

4. As for some other decrees which respect manners and discipline, namely, that clergymen especially should live chastely, and that they who live otherwise should be severely punished according to the canons ; that the constitutions of former Popes against Simonists should be renewed.† Could they be otherwise than insignificant, as long as the causes of these corruptions were still maintained, and no provision made for putting the canons in execution ? For the Pope to talk of reviving the ancient canons, without first reforming his own Court, from whence the neglect and contempt of these canons mainly proceeded, was as absurd as to go about to cleanse the stream while the fountain remains polluted. And that, *de facto*, the censures decreed by this Council were for the most part never executed, is confessed even by the bigot Carranza.‡

I need say no more ; nor was it indeed needful to say so much, since I might have spared the pains of proving that which was so notorious by the event. I appeal to the Romanists themselves, whether corruptions and abuses did not more abound, and whether complaints against them were not more loud and clamorous after the celebration of this Council than before ? A worthy reformation ! so palpable was the cheat, that divers of their own Church speak of it with indignation and abhorrence. "This," says the doctor frequently quoted, "is that excellent reformation, so earnestly desired by all Christian nations for 200 years ; or to speak more truly, this is the cover and daub for the abuses of the Roman Court."§ And speaking again of this Council, he represents it as that which might make any man despair of ever seeing a good reformation : "for since," says he, "diseases, injuries and corruptions flow thence, from whence medicine and wholesome laws ought to proceed, who would not abandon all hope of the public safety, and of

* Reformat. Curiæ et alior.

† Ibid.

‡ Summa Concilior. p. 897.

§ Hæc illa est eximia et tantopere à Christianis nationibus ducentis abhinc annis exoptata reformatio ; vel ut verius dicamus, abusum curiæ Romanæ incrustatio atque involutio. Richer. l. 4. p. 26. [1683.]

the restoration of the Church to a better state?"* What those diseases, injuries and corruptions were, which flowed from this Council, and how grievous and intolerable, the same author largely represents in many foregoing pages. Of the same judgment was Beatus Rhenanus, who in the year 1522 (about five years after the ending of this Council) thus concludes his invective against the Pope's usurpations : " Farewell, christian reader, and together with me lament the discipline of the Church, daily declining to the worse."†

Nor can any man think it strange, that this Council produced no better fruits, if he considers, that those few bishops, of which it consisted, were purely the Pope's creatures,‡ and that nothing was decreed by it, but what was before decreed, and made ready for their hands by the Pope and his Cabinet Council :§ so that nothing was synodically discussed and concluded, but all things determined by the Pope's omnipotent fiat ;|| I say omnipotent, because no less than " all power both in heaven and earth," was in this Council blasphemously ascribed to him.¶ No man, I say, that considers these things, will much wonder that matters were so carried. For to proceed :

4. Who could hope that the Pope would consent to a reformation in good earnest (without whose consent to suppose it could be wrought in the Church of Rome, is as absurd as to suppose that the body should move one way and the head another). Who could so much as dream that the Pope would ever consent to that which was so directly opposite to his dearly beloved inclinations and interests ? The Pope was now quite

* Cum igitur morbi, injuriæ atque corruptelæ illinc, unde medicina juraque salutaria debebant promanare, scaturiunt; quotusquisque et de ecclesiæ in melius instauratione, et de publica salute spem omnem non merito abjiciat ? [ibid.] 1. 4. p. 117, 118.

† Vale Christiane lector, et ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ ad deteriora prolabentis quotidie (quoniam aliter nihil fere restat) communibus mecum suspiriis ingemisce. Goldast. Monarch. S. Rom. Imp. vol. 1. p. 647.

‡ — In qua vix alium, quam Aulicum Episcopum invenias. Richer. 1. 4. p. 14. [1683.] Hæc synodus ex solis curiæ Romanæ Asseclis constata est : p. 19.

§ Hic autem solus Papa tanquam absolutus Monarcha, illa quæ domi in secreto et oligarchico Concilio, etc. p. 24. item. 1. 2. p. 187.

|| — Nulla est sessio in qua aliquid synodice conditum fuerit, sed cuncta despoticō imperio edicta et conclusa sunt ; etiam a Julio et Leone X. armatis p. 48, 49.

¶ Sess. 9. p. 117. Bin. Edit. 1636.

another man from what he was in the beginning ; from a “servant of servants,” he was now exalted to be “king of kings, and lord of the world.”* All kings and emperors were become his subjects, or rather his slaves ;† and he such an absolute sovereign over them, that he might give away their kingdoms at his pleasure. He was to be acknowledged the alone fountain of honour, and all the wealth of the world was to flow to his exchequer, to maintain the pomp and grandeur of his court ; whereas humility and charity, poverty, and patience, and suffering, were his ancient characters ; he was now known and distinguished from other mortals, by his numerous and splendid retinue, by the prostration of kings at his feet, and by setting his feet on their necks, by “exalting himself above all that is called God, or worshipped.” In a word, pride and ambition, covetousness and rapine, tyranny and oppression, were those graces in which the Pope was become more excellent than his neighbours.

For as if these were now his inseparable adherents, how meek, and humble, and mortified a man soever he was before, when he came to the Popedom, or to approach so near as to be within the hope of it, he was presently transformed into a man of another spirit. How zealous against the usurpations of the Roman court and bishop was Nicholas Cusan, when Pope Eugenius first attempted to dissolve the Council of Basil ?‡ But when he was promoted to be a Cardinal, his eyes were so dazzled with the shine of his red hat, that the Pope seemed a person of quite a different character from what he formerly was : he that before was not only fallible, but had so grossly erred, at least in practice, that he was thought above all others to stand in need of being reformed, was now become such an uncontrollable judge, that no appeals might be made from him.§

* Regum Rex, et Orbis Terrarum Monarcha.

† Quod solius Papæ pedes omnes Principes deosculentur. Dictat. 9. Greg. VII. Bin. tom 7. parte 1. p. 362. [Labbe 1671. vol. 10. col. 110.] Baron. Annal. Anno 1076. N. 32.

Innocent III. told the Emperor of Constantinople, that the Pope is as much greater than the Emperor, as the sun is greater than the moon. *Quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter Pontifices et Reges differentia cognoscitur.* Decretal. l. 1. de Majoritat. et Obedien. c. 6. Innocent the Fourth reckoned kings no better than the Pope’s slaves. Matth. Paris Hist. in Hen. 3. ad Anno 1253. [p. 872. 1640.]

‡ Richer. Hist. Concil. General. l. 3. c. 6. p. 477. [1683.]

§ Invect. Greg. Heimb.

There had been no Pope for some hundreds of years, from whom more good might in reason have been expected, than from Pius II., who, while he was *Aeneis Sylvius*, and unacquainted with the arts of the Roman court, had a great zeal for reformation : but some time after, when from *Aeneas Sylvius*, and Canon of Trent, he was promoted, first to be Bishop of Trieste, then designed Bishop of Siena, and a little after created Cardinal, he fairly faced about, and wholly bent his studies to oppose that truth, which, when poor and private, he had defended.* And no sooner was he exalted to the papal throne, but he laboured, with might and main, to obliterate the memory of those decrees of Basil, which as Secretary of that Council, he had before published, and highly recommended to the world.† None more zealous against the Pope's supremacy than *Aeneas*.‡ Which he so stoutly asserted, when Pius II., that he huffed and hectored kings. In a word, Canon Sylvius, and Pope Sylvius, were as opposite in their judgments, tempers, and behaviours, one to the other, as Massianello the poor fisherman to Massianello the domineering tyrant.

Must not he then be a fond man, who could hope for a good reformation from the bishops of Rome ? A reformation ! there was nothing in the world they were so averse from ; death and hell were not more odious to them. And why ? This would wrest the temporal sword quite out of their hands, and tumble the triple crown from their heads ; they must then quit claim to their universal empire, and be content with their ancient enclosure, the suburbicary region : their dispensations and commutations, their pardons and indulgencies, and a thousand crafts more, by which they get their wealth, would then be set at nought. In brief, they would then be divested of their usurped power and greatness, and rendered as poor and despised as the crow in the fable, when stripped of those

* Qui quidem cum esset privatus, neendum Curiæ Romanæ artes et studia nosset (ut ipse in literis retractationis actorum Synodi Basiliensis a se scriptorum testificatur) strenue quidem pro veritate, et necessitate reformandæ Ecclesiæ pugnavit. Sed postquam ex *Aenea Sylvio* et simplici Canonico Tridentino, primum *Turgestinus*, deinde *Senensis Episcopus* à *Nicolao V.* designatus, et aliquanto post, Anno 1456, creatus est cardinalis à *Calixto III.* totus quidem in studium oppugnandæ atque involvendæ veritatis, quam pauper et privatus defenderat, et enucleaverat, incubuit. Richer. l. 4. part 1. p. 6. [1683.]

† Richer. l. 4. part. 1. p. 35.

‡ Maimb. Prerogat. of the Church of Rome, c. 25. p. 338.

fine feathers he had plucked from others. And could it be supposed that his holiness would consent to be so degraded, that he would pull down with his own hands that pompous fabric which for a thousand years he had been raising? When Satan casts out Satan, we may then expect that the Pope will in good earnest endeavour a reformation.

5. The reformation was yet more hopeless, because the bishops, and the rest of the governing part of the churchmen, were several ways engaged to submit themselves to, and follow the Pope's conduct: so that supposing they had any good wishes for a reformation themselves, yet both their tongues and their hands were so tied up, that they might neither speak nor act, for the promoting of it, without leave first obtained from his holiness. There was a two-fold bond, beside others (which shall be afterward mentioned), by which they were more especially enslaved to the Pope's pleasure, the one of an oath, the other of interest.*

1. Every Popish bishop, at his consecration, "had taken an oath, from that time forward to be faithful to St. Peter, and to the holy Roman Church, and his Lord the Pope, and his successors canonically entering; to help them to defend, and to keep the Papacy, and the rules of the Fathers," &c. which oath may be seen more at large in the Decretals.† And though one would think this oath were enough, yet, as if it had left them too much at liberty, several additions have been since made to it, by which the Pope hath bound them more closely to their good behaviour (which render reformation now more desperate); the rules of the holy Fathers are changed into the royalties of St. Peter.‡ They swear to be obedient, as well as faithful,§ not only to endeavour to preserve and defend the rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Pope, but to increase and advance them;|| yea, "to the utmost of their power, to cause the Pope's commands to be observed by others,

* Considerations touching the true way of suppressing Popery, &c.
p. 138, 139.

† Decretal. I. 2. tit. 24. c. 4. [Cor. Jur. Can. 1670. (Decr. Greg. p. 288.)] ‡ Regalia Sancti Petri.

§ Fidelis et obediens ero Dom. N. Papæ, etc. Pontifical. Rom. de Consecrat. Elect. in Episcop. [1738. p. 178.]

|| Jura, honores, privilegia, et autoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ et successorum conservare, defendere, augere, promovere, curabo. [Ibid. 5. p. 179.]

as well as to observe them themselves;”* together with many other things not contained in the oath of Gregory VII. And is not this a strong tie to all those who make conscience of an oath? that is, to all those, who say not in their heart, “There is no God.” And,

2. For those, whose consciences are so debauched, that they despise an oath, the Pope hath them so much the more secured by their worldly interest. For what will not such men do for riches and honours? and from whom can they hope for these, so soon as from his holiness? The Cardinals are all creatures, purely of his own making; and no man can be a bishop, or an abbot, but if he be not made, he must at least be allowed and confirmed by him. All the best preferments do some way or other depend upon his pleasure; and whom should he rather promote to them than those who approve themselves his most obedient servants? This is the only argument that prevails with many to be fast friends to the Papacy. It is Richerius’s note upon Cusan’s revolt from the Council of Basil, and going over to the Pope’s side. “By this,” saith he, “we know, that many who defended the truth, while they were poor, desert the same in hope of dignities, and a richer fortune, and especially moved with ambition of the cardinal purple.† And therefore John Major spake to the purpose, when he said, “It ought not to seem strange to any man, that more teach that the Pope is above a Council, than that a Council is above the Pope; because the Pope gives dignities and ecclesiastical benefices, but a Council gives none.”

Obj. It will perhaps be said, that these reasons can be of no force, because they are contradicted by experience; for it is sufficiently known, that in the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, many of the prelates ran counter to, and openly opposed the Pope.

Ans. To which it is easily answered, that this was an extraordinary case, such as, considering all circumstances, never happened before or since, and it is likely will never happen again; as will soon appear, by a short reflection upon each of these Councils.

* Mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. [Ibid.]

† Ex quo datur cognosci, permultos qui veritatem in statu paupertatis defenderunt, eandem spe dignitatum, atque pinguioris fortunæ, et præsertim desiderio purpuræ cardinalitiæ, deseruisse, l. 3. p. 479. [1683.]

I.—As to the first Pisan Council (as it is usually reckoned) let these things be considered.

1. That the Pope's title was then disputed. For that Council was summoned by the Cardinals, on purpose to extinguish the schism, that had been long before raised, and was then continued by the two anti-Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.* Nor was the Council able to determine which of the two was the rightful Pope. Though, therefore, the bishops had sworn obedience to the Pope, yet in that case their oath did not oblige them to obey one rather than the other; that is, to obey either of them. And as they were loosed from the bond of conscience, so neither could the temptation from interest then take place. For as there was in effect no Pope (since it could not be known who he was), so it was uncertain who would in the end obtain the Popedom; whether either of those who thought it his due, or some other person who did not yet pretend a title to it. And so indeed it happened, for those who laid claim to it, were by the Council both rejected, and another chosen, to whose lot the disposal of those preferments fell, which the Pope's parasites gape after.

2. The two Anti-popes (besides other enormous crimes) were both convicted of notorious heresy.† And, therefore, in case they had been duly elected, had lost their right to the Papacy. For as their canon law expressly teaches that a heretical Pope may be judged;‡ so Cardinal Bellarmine himself affirms, “That a Pope who is a manifest heretic, ceases to be Pope, and the head of the Church; as he ceases to be a Christian, and a member of the body, the Church.”§ And this he says is the judgment of all the ancient Fathers, and of the most learned modern writers.

II. As to the Council of Constance let these things be considered:—

1. That though the Pisan Council had deposed Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and put Alex. V. into the chair; yet neither of the deposed Popes could be brought to submit to the sen-

* Bin. *Præfat. ad Concil. Constant.* Richer. *Hist. Concil. General.*
1. 2. c. 2. [p. 64. 1683.]

† Sess. 9, 10, 11, 15. [Labbe, 1672. vol. 11. par. 2. col. 2121, &c.]

‡ à — nemine judicandus, nisi deprehendatur à fide devius. Distinct.
40. c. 6.

§ Est ergo quinta opinio vera, Papam Hæreticum manifestum, per se
desinere esse Papam et Caput, sicut per se definit esse Christianus et mem-
brum Corporis Ecclesiae. Bell. de Rom. Pontif. 1. 2. c. 30. [n. 18.]

tence of the Council. When, therefore, the Council of Constance assembled, so far was the schism from being lessened, that it was indeed increased into one branch more than it had before. For whereas before, two only laid claim to the Papacy, there were now three,* each of which had fair arguments on his side ; and it was very difficult, if not impossible, for the Council to determine whose right it was.† And therefore in this case, the ties before mentioned must be also loosed. Besides, that the Roman courtiers themselves grant (as Richerius tells us) that in case of schism, the Pope loses his sovereignty, and becomes subject to a Council.‡ But,

2. Let it be granted, that John XXIII. (who succeeded Alex. V.) was owned by the Council for the true and lawful Pope (as indeed he was by the major part), yet he had forfeited his title to the Papacy these two ways especially. 1. By heresy. It is true, that heresy is not mentioned in the sentence passed against him, as that for which he was condemned ; yet is also true, that as he was accused of heresy, so it was believed that he was guilty.§ 2. By the most notorious, enormous, and incorrigible scandal, of which he was convicted in more than forty articles proved against him.|| Now the Gloss upon their canon law tells us, “That if the Pope’s crime be notorious, and the Church be scandalized thereby, and he incorrigible, he may be accused ;” and gives this reason for it, because contumacy is called heresy.¶ Yea, that in this

* — Revixit continuo Schisma quod extinctum putabatur ; imo vero non revixit (neque enim erat extinctum) sed cum in occulto flamma late-ret, repente majori impetu erupit, majusque incendium excitavit. Cum enim Gregorius et Beneditus, Synodo parere, seque Pontificatu abdicare nollent, statim illud in controversiam venit ; num Synodus Pisana in illos animadvertere potuerit ; præsertim cum eorum alteruter verus esset Pon-tifex, tametsi uter is esset, non plane constaret. Itaque cum hoc Schisma duo tantum capita haberet initio, Synodusque utrumque abscondere vellet, tria simul eodem tempore extitere, &c. Hist. Concil. Constantiens. [Labbe, 1672. vol. 12. col. 4.]

† Inchoato deinde Concilio, tametsi eam ob causam potissimum erat coactum, ut schisma extingueretur ; nunquam tamen in eo elaborarunt Patres, ut singulorum Pontificum jus perpenderent, aut quis reliquis præferendus esset, rationibus et argumentis exquirerent erat enim id difficillimum, vixque unquam ad exitum fuisse causa perducta, ibid. [col. 5.]

‡ Hist. Concil. General. 1. 2. c. 3. § 25. [p. 262. 1683.]

§ Concil. Const. sess. 11. in Concilior. Collect. Regia. Gers. Viag. Reg. Rom. prima direct. salut. in via verit.

|| Concil. Const. sess. 11. [Labbe, 1672. vol. 12. col. 69, &c.] Plat. in ejus vita. [1685. p. 345.]

¶ Certe credo, quod si notorium est crimen ejus quandocunque et inde

case he may be legally deposed, the Romanists must grant, if they consider, that for this very cause John XII. was deposed by a Council,* the legality of which hath been owned, and its acts approved by the constant tradition of the Roman Church ; and among others, by three Cardinals, who were vehement assertors of the Pope's prerogatives, as Launoy hath proved at large against Baronius and Binius.† The same is also confirmed by the concurrent judgment of learned divines of the Roman Church, of which you may find a great number in the Epistle now quoted. 3. Before the Council proceeded to accuse and condemn him, the ancient doctrine was established as an article of faith, namely, "That a General Council is above the Pope."‡ I know Platina tells us, that they first deposed him, and passed this decree afterward in their own defence.§ But he that will take the pains to read the history of the Council, will plainly see that Platina was mistaken. For this decree was made in the fourth session, whereas he was not deposed before the twelfth, it being then a point of faith in this Council, that the bishops, who in their single capacities are the Pope's subjects when met in Council, are raised to a sovereignty over him ; that oath which they had severally taken as his subjects, they concluded did now cease to oblige them when become his sovereign. As the oath of obedience which a priest takes to his bishop binds him, as long as he remains a bare priest ; but if he be once advanced to be the bishop's metropolitan, is of no force.

3. As to the Council of Basil (omitting many others), I shall propose these two things. First, That this Council depended on the Council of Constance as a river on its fountain ; it being the execution of the decrees of the iv., v., xxxix., xl., and xliv. sessions of that Council.|| 2. In the Council of Basil the bishops were set free from their oaths of subjection to the Pope by the Pope himself; first, by Martin V., who had confirmed those decrees of the Council of Constance, which made the Pope subject to a General Council.¶ Secondly, by Euge-

scandalizatur Ecclesia, et incorrigibilis sit, &c. Gloss. in Can. si Papa. distinct. 40. [1670. col. 131.] Vide Concil. Decii apud Richer. l. 4. part 1. p. 241, 242, 243. [1683.]

* Luitprand. de rebus Imperat. et Reg. l. 6. c. 7, 8, 9, 10.

† Launoii Epist. parte quarta ad Lud. Maræsum. ‡ Sess. 4.

§ Plat. in vita Johan. [1685. p. 345.]

|| Richer. l. 3. c. 1. [p. 273. 1683.]

¶ Concil. Const. sess. 45. Rich. l. 2. c. 3. § 23. [p. 252. 1683.] Maimb. Prerog. of the Church of Rome, c. 21.

nius IV., who ratified the same decrees of the Council of Basil,* and that before the Council had proceeded to any judicial act against him.† So that now the bishops, when met in a General Council, representing the whole Church, by the Pope's own act were made his superiors: and therefore the oath they had before taken of subjection to him as single persons, was now out of doors. But when the next Lateran Council came, the case was quite altered, the Pope was then mounted above a Council; and his supremacy and their subjection owned by them, and by the succeeding Council of Trent.

The sum of what hath been said may be reduced to these four heads, which quite evacuate the force of the objection.

1. That in the Councils of Pisa and Constance, the case, with respect to the Pope, was as different from what it was, and ever will be, when there is a Pope whose right is not disputed, as the case of subjects under a prince whose title is unquestionable, from what it is under many pretenders, who are not able to make out their claim. The subjects are obliged in conscience, and usually by interest, to obey the former, but by neither to obey the latter.

2. Suppose their title was at first unquestionable, yet they lost it by heresy, schism, and their prodigiously scandalous vices.

3. In the Councils of Constance and Basil, it was reckoned a point of faith, that the bishops change their places in relation to the Pope, when united in a General Council; and by consequence, were no more bound by the oath they had taken to the Pope, than a servant who swears obedience to his master is, in case he cease to be his servant, and his master become servant to him. And,

4. In the Council of Basil the Pope himself had set the bishops free from their oath of subjection to him, by voluntarily subjecting himself to them.

By this time it is, I think, evident enough, that (notwithstanding this exception in an extraordinary case) the reasons before mentioned stand good. But what need I prove, that the sun is up at noon? The reason, the sense, and common observation of mankind, do all tell us; that as men who have any religion, cannot have but a great veneration for an oath:

* Plat. in vit. Eugenii. [1685. p. 360.]

† Richer. l. 3. c. 3. § 1. [p. 273. 1683] Maimb. Prerog. of the Church of Rome, c. 21.

so on the other hand, that they who have none, cannot but be swayed by their worldly interests. “Where the carcass is, thither will the eagles resort.” Since, therefore, the governing part of the Church of Rome were so miserably enslaved to the Roman bishop, could there be any hope of reformation, when there was no reason to hope that the bishop of Rome would consent to it?

Obj. Some perhaps may say that I wrong the Popes, in representing them as so obstinately set against reformation. For as many of them pretended a zeal for it, so it is certain there was one at least (viz. Adrian VI.) who did himself earnestly endeavour it.

Ans. But what kind of reformation was it he endeavoured to make? In matters of faith, and of the sacraments, he would allow no man liberty, so much as to dispute what had been once decreed by General Councils,* that is, by any of those Councils which he called General, many of which were no more than Italian or Papal Councils. Whosoever was so bold as to call any such thing in question, he was to be dealt with as John Huss and Jerome of Prague;† so that if any man denied the imaginary fire of purgatory, he must presently be confuted by real flames.

The Popes usurped power and greatness (the source of numberless other corruptions), so far was he from retrenching, that he rather endeavoured to set it higher. The princes of Germany were looked upon as too saucy, and thought to entrench upon his prerogative, for desiring only, that a Council might be called with the emperor’s consent.‡

What then was the reformation Adrian aimed at? Why, the churchmen were in their morals so monstrously degenerated, that in almost all places they were become abominable. The abuses in discipline were grown so intolerable, that the princes of the world were resolved no longer to endure them. That, therefore, which he designed was, to reduce the clergy to somewhat better manners, and to correct some gross enormities in discipline, which were most offensive. This was all the reformation he endeavoured; for other corruptions, so far was it from his intention to reform them, that he was resolved more firmly to establish them. And yet this piece of refor-

* Soave, l. 1. p. 25. [p. 24. 1676.] Sleid. Comment. l. 4.

† Soave, ibid.

‡ Soave, l. 1. p. 28. [p. 26. 1676.]

tion he did not effect, though he much desired it. Which leads me to another consideration, which further shews how hopeless the reformation of the Church of Rome was. For,

6. Let us suppose, that such a man had been advanced to the Papacy, who would have set himself in good earnest to make an impartial reformation (one of the most unlikely things in the world, as the state of that Church then was, and for a long time before had been), he would have failed in his attempt, and not have been able to accomplish it. And that for these two reasons. 1. Because he could have made no such reformation, unless he first made void those obligations, by which the governing part of that Church, both in point of conscience and of interest, were held in subjection to him. 2. Because of that opposition, which they being so let loose, would for the generality have made against him.

1. Because he could have made no such reformation, unless he first made void those obligations, by which the governing part of that Church, both in point of conscience and interest, were held in subjection to him. The great holds he had upon their consciences, proceeded from several corrupt doctrines, and those practices of the Popes that were built upon them. For instance, that the Pope is by divine ordination head of the Universal Church ; that all other bishops are his subjects, and that he hath power to impose an oath upon them as their sovereign ; that he is the supreme judge of controversies, and all men obliged to stand to his sentence. These, and several other doctrines of a resembling nature, have been defined by the Popes themselves, and with great zeal asserted as unquestionable truths by their flatterers ; and had been so far owned by the governing clergy, that they had bound themselves by solemn oath (as has been already shewed) to be obedient to him.

But now no reformation to purpose could have been made, but the Pope must condemn these doctrines, and divest himself of those prerogatives, which, by virtue of them, he lays claim to. Because these are not only great errors themselves, but productive of all other the grossest corruptions.*

Nor must he only loose the tie of conscience, but that of interest too (which with the generality of men is the stronger of the two). He must no longer assume to himself the sole power of erecting and pulling down of bishoprics ; of electing, confirming, deposing, and restoring of bishops ; of disposing of

* Richer. Hist. Concil. General. I. 1. c. 13. [p. 758. 1683.]

all the greater dignities and ecclesiastical benefices; of conferring those that are incompatible upon the same person. In a word, of trampling upon all the ancient canons. And should the Pope have once parted with these prerogatives, together with many other of the like nature, which must have been done if a reformation had been made to purpose, he would have been able to do nothing more. For,

2. The prelates (as has been before shewed)* were so deeply sunk into earthliness and sensuality, that there was nothing they would have more vehemently opposed than a reformation. This they gave a sufficient proof of, in that they were so distasted with that confession of their excesses, which Adrian made to the diet of Nuremberg.† For if the bare confession of their faults was so displeasing, how much more grievous would the reforming of them have been? Which though Adrian likewise promised, yet how unable he would have been to perform it, we may conclude from that ill success he met with in Rome itself. For though he resolved to reform abuses at home, before he sent his legate to treat with the princes of Germany; yet he met with so much difficulty in the attempt, that he was forced to quit his resolution.‡ And can it be supposed, that he should be able to reform the Universal Church, who could not correct the disorders of his own court?§ And, therefore, after he had made some trial of his strength, and found how unequal it was to his undertaking, he said to his familiar friends, "That the condition of the Popes was very miserable, since matters were come to that deplorable pass, that though they never so much desired it, yet they were not able to reform the Church."||

And what was the reason he was not able to effect what he

* See pp. 67—74.

† Soave, l. 1. p. 29. [1640.]

‡ Ib. p. 24.

§ Palpabiliter cernitur, ipsam ejus Curiam, maxima indigere reformatione, sicut omnia clamaverunt ultimo celebrata Generalia Concilia. Quam suam Curiam, si non potest, aut non vellet reformare, quam sub alis suis contegit, quomodo credendum est, quod tam late diffusam reformare possit Ecclesiam? Jacob. de Paradis. Collect. de Authorit. Eccles.

|| Saepe enim sanctissimus Pontifex, ubi Curiæ Rom. artes et consilia perspecta habuit, cum Gulielmo Encurtio et Theodorico Hezio suis familiaribus conquestus est, permiseram esse Pontificum Romanorum conditionem; eoque in statu res esse, ut quanquam maxime vellet, Ecclesiam emendare non posset, &c. Richer. l. 4. part 2. p. 133. [1683.] Soave, p. 24. [1640.]

so earnestly endeavoured? One main reason doubtless was, that he in some measure let loose that tie which he had upon them from their worldly interests. No plurality of benefices with cure of souls was to be expected from him. "He was resolved," as he said, "to adorn churches with priests, and not priests with churches."* Such a little piece of reformation as this, the corrupt manners of the courtiers were not able to bear; they, therefore, set themselves to oppose him; and being impatient of enduring him any longer, it was by some suspected that they hastened him into another world by an Italian trick.†

The plain consequence of what hath been said, is this; that the reformation of the Church of Rome must needs be very hopeless; since the Pope himself, though he should have seriously endeavoured it, could not have made it; because he could not have made it without doing that which (as the case of that Church then stood) would have disabled him to make it. A desperate case indeed! when it could not be effected, whether the Pope were for it or against it. If the Pope were against it, the rest of the prelates were not able without him to compass it; if the Pope were for it, he must in order to it do that which would have rendered him unable to compass it.

Obj. If it be objected, that the reformation attempted in the Councils of Constance, Basil, and the last Pisan, are an evident argument that the Romish bishops were not generally so averse from a reformation.

Ans. I answer. 1. That in the Councils of Constance and Basil, many of the bishops were overawed by the good Emperor Sigismund, whose authority at that time bore a much greater sway than the Pope's. 2. In these Councils the inferior clergy had a decisive voice, which was denied them in the succeeding Florentine, Lateran, and Trent Councils. And Ludovicus cardinal of Arles, and John bishop of Segovia (whose authority in this matter is unquestionable), assure us, that it was not the bishops, but the inferior clergy, by which matters were carried in the Council of Basil for the reformation, and against the Pope.‡ 3. It was but a piece of reformation these Councils designed, and that not the most considerable. "Those demands of reformation in the head and members," says the Cardinal of Perron, "propounded before the last division of the

* Launoii Epist. part. 4. Epist. ad Hen. Barril. [1731. vol 9. p. 552.]

† Raynald. in Adriano, n. 130.

‡ Aeneas Sylv. Comment. l. 1. p. 29, 34.

Church, have been demands of reformation, not in the doctrine of faith and the sacraments, but in manners, and in the practice of ecclesiastical discipline, which even these words of reformation, both in the head and members, principally used in the time of the Councils of Constance and Basil signify."* And those matters of discipline they aimed at, were such as did almost all concern the exorbitances of the Pope and his court, as appears by the eighteen articles of reformation proposed in the Council of Constance.† And, therefore, no wonder if the bishops did the more easily yield their consent to them.

4. Though the second Pisan Council voted a reformation both in faith and manners; yet it is sufficiently known, that that reformation was resolved upon to serve a design against the insolencies of the present Pope, in opposition to whom that Council was called, by some of the cardinals who had been disgraced and insolently treated by him. Though even that was a plain argument of the necessity of it, and how earnestly it was desired by the Christian world.

But because in discoursing afterward upon the Council of Trent, I shall have occasion to say those things, which will be more than an answer to this objection, I shall only at present add, that if the bishops were not generally abandoned to ambition, covetousness, sloth, and sensuality, it is not I, but the Romish writers themselves that slander them. For this I appeal to Marsilius of Padua, Nicolas Clemangis, the German bishop who wrote the book called *Onus Ecclesiae*, Father Paul, yea, even to Pope Pius II. himself, before he was Pope, Cardinal, or Bishop, who in his *Comments upon the Council of Basil*, hath left on record this sad complaint (among many others) of the Cardinal of Arles; "Alas, at this day a prelate who does not prefer temporal things before those that are spiritual, is rarely found!"‡

7. There is one consideration still behind, which of itself (without the assistance of any of those fore mentioned) amounts to no less than a demonstration; viz. That the Church of Rome was so remote from reforming her errors, that she would not be brought to acknowledge that she could err in any of her definitions; but on the contrary, condemned them for heretics, who did not take her most palpable errors for unquestionable truths. And though the Romanists cannot agree among them-

* Reply to the King of Great Britain, l. 4. c. 30.

† Sess. 40.

‡ *De Gest. Concil. Bas.* l. 1. fol. 12.

selves about the subject of this infallibility ; but if you ask them where, or in whom it is seated ? they answer with confusion of language, like that of Babel ; yet they all agree in this, that they have it somewhere, and make this the foundation into which they resolve their faith.

Now what hope can there be of curing that person, who is so far from seeking out for a remedy, that he will by no means hear that he is so much as capable of being sick. Such was the condition of the Church of Rome. Though she was sick, even nigh unto death ; yet she would not endure those who had said no more, than that it was possible she might not be well. This rendered her disease absolutely incurable.

Though the arguments produced will, I question not, be thought satisfactory by all disinterested judges ; yet it cannot be expected, but some persons will be found, who will think they can easily confute them by plain matter of fact ; that is, by shewing that the reformation so much desired before, and in Luther's time, has been long since made. If they can indeed do this, it must be granted, that these, and all other arguments of the like import, are no better than fallacies. For as Dicgenes sufficiently confuted Zeno (who denied the possibility of motion) by rising and actually moving ; so if any man can shew, that those errors and corruptions so much complained of, have by the Church of Rome been reformed, he must be not only absurd, but impudent, who shall still assert that the reformation was desperate. And to convince you, that this reformation has indeed been made, they will send you no farther than the Council of Trent, in which they will tell you this work was so completely done, that nothing was left undone, that could be thought needful to a thorough reformation.

This being the thing which the Romanists chiefly insist upon, and make their boast of. That my answer may be the more full and satisfactory, it will not be amiss to spend a little time in shewing, what sort of reformation it was that was made by that Council ; by which it will be manifest how much they endeavour to impose upon the world, who represent it as a reformation so entire, that nothing of moment can by any unprejudiced person be found wanting in it.

It is confessed, that as that Council was called, as the Pope pretended, for the reformation of the Church ; so that in pursuance of that pretence, many decrees concerning reformation were made by it : but that the Reformation they made such a noise about was indeed no more than a noise (a great cry and

no wool), designed to abuse princes, and to put a cheat upon the world by amusing them with the name, that they might beguile them of the thing, will, I think, so plainly appear by the sequel of this discourse, that those whose great interest it is not to confess it, will scarce have the face to deny it.

But because two famous Jesuits, namely, Scipio Henricus, and Cardinal Pallavicino, have made it their business to blast the credit of the History of this Council, written by Father Paul, by representing it to the world as a slanderous libel, made up in great part of malicious forgeries, before I proceed it may not be amiss to vindicate its credit from their false imputations ; though it be not indeed necessary in order to that which I intend : because the charge I shall draw up against the Council will not be taken from that history alone, but from other authors, and for the most part from the decrees and canons of the Council itself.

CHAP. II.

The authority of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent asserted.

The credit of the History will be sufficiently cleared by shewing these two things : 1. How well the historian was qualified for the work. 2. That it is so far from being overthrown, or so much as impaired ; that it is rather strengthened and established by those who endeavour to destroy it.

SECT. I.

The Author's sufficiency for the work, and his sincerity in performing it.

First. The credit of any history bears proportion to the authority of the writer ; and the authority of the writer to his sufficiency for the work, and his sincerity in performing it : by how much the greater his knowledge was of the things he delivers, and by how much the greater evidence there is of his sincerity in delivering them ; by so much the greater is his

authority, and by consequence, so much the more unquestionable the truth of his history. In case, then, there be no reason to suspect that the writer is defective in either of these qualifications, but a person of unquestionable ability, and approved sincerity, there can be no reason to question the truth of what he relates; but on the contrary, the greatest reason in the world to entertain it as a faithful saying. To apply this to the historian we now treat of:

I. No man can doubt of Soave's ability, who considers that he wanted neither that judgment, nor those means of information that were needful to qualify him for such a work.

1. He could not want judgment, who was the miracle of his age for all sorts of learning: not only for such as are wont to be found in cloisters, but such also by which the physician, the lawyer, the gentleman, and the statesman, are recommended to the world: and particularly for his skill in history, both sacred and profane (as may be seen in his life, written by Fulgentius). To which if we add, that he wrote this History not in his greener years, but when his understanding was fully ripe, we must needs grant that he had a sufficient talent of judgment and discretion for such a work. So admirable, indeed, was his judgment in all matters, "That (as the author of his life tells us) never anything was proposed to him, whereto he did not as readily and solidly answer, as if it had been in his only profession; and he gave no answer so suddenly that seemed not to be long and studiously considered of, and such an one as could not be bettered."*

2. Nor could he want means of being rightly informed, and sufficiently instructed in those things he delivers. He was a neighbour to the place where the matters he writes of were transacted. He lived in a city full of learned and inquisitive persons, who had collected memorials of what had passed in this great affair.† He had the sight of the letters, diaries and memorials of many great men; some of which were employed in matters relating to the Council, others were themselves parts of it, and prime actors in it. As the diary of Cheregar‡ Pope Adrian's Nuncio in Germany. The register of the letters of Cardinal Monte, Pope Paul's prime legate in Trent.§ A great number of letters that passed to and fro between the Pope and the legates before they could agree to

* Life, p. 131. printed at London, 1651. † Jur. Hist. Reflect. p. 94.

‡ Soave. p. 24. [1640.] p. 23. [1676.] § Ib. p. 114.

open the Council.* The memorials of those who had part in the disputes about the Certainty of Grace.† Thirty-four votes in that one article of Residence, in that form in which they were delivered, and the conclusions of all the rest.‡ The letters of Charles Visconte bishop of Vintimille§ (Pope Pius's secret minister in the Council), out of which he extracted what he has written in his three last books about the famous dispute of Residence, and the grand question of the Institution of Bishops. The public monuments, in which was registered what he relates of the negociation of Cardinal Marone with the emperor.|| The memorials of Cardinal Amulius,¶ who was so dear to Pius IV. that he called him his Vessel of Election,** and chose him cardinal in spite of all the resistance he was able to make. He was highly in favour with Cardinal Castagna, who was afterward Pope Urban VII., and with Cardinal Borromeo,†† who had particular advice of whatsoever happened in the Council under Pius.‡‡ He most intimately conversed with Camillo Olivo, secretary to the Cardinal of Mantua,§§ who was President of the Council. He was admitted by the Republic into the two secrets of Venice; that is, the two chambers, in which, besides the public reasons of state, the fundamental laws, &c., the records of the public negociations of all States are kept:||| in which it may be presumed he had the view, as of many other matters relating to the Council, so of the legation of Cardinal Contarini, at the Diet of Ratisbon (of which he hath given an account in his first book). And that he had seen the instructions and letters of the king of France to his ambassadors, his letters to the legates and fathers of the Council; the letters of Monsieur de Lisle, his ambassador at Rome; the letters of Messieurs de Lansac, de Pibrac, du Ferrier, his ambassadors at the Council; and the letters of the Cardinal of Lorrain; no man will question who will but take the pains to compare his history with them, as they are published in the French memoirs of the Council. To which if we add, that for a long time he gathered, with extreme diligence, whatsoever he could attain to know concerning

* Soave, p. 118. [1640.]

† Ib. p. 207.

‡ Ib. p. 486.

§ Ib. p. 517.

|| Ib. l. 7. p. 705.

¶ Ib. p. 815. Pallavicino, l. 14. c. 14. n. 2. [1657. vol. 2. p. 152.]

** Pallav. l. 15. c. 6. n. 7. [p. 202.] [Questi e vaso d' elezione.]

†† Life of Father Paul. [1651. p. 18.] ‡‡ Soave, l. 6. p. 517.

§§ Life, p. 10. [1651.] Soave, l. 6. p. 517, 518.

||| Life, p. 142, 143. Amelot. Preface.

this great affair, either by cost or friendship, not only in Italy, but from abroad, sparing neither labour nor money, we cannot imagine but he was sufficiently furnished with instructions and materials for this work.*

I know Pallavicino represents Father Paul as one who collected his history from those who were either suspected for heretics, or were really such.† The falsity of which accusation is so manifest by what hath been already said, that it needs no further confutation. But because it is not so much the want of ability as of sincerity, that Father Paul is by his adversaries charged with ; consider,

2. That the arguments of his sincerity are so bright, that he must be either blind or wink hard that can avoid the sight of them. For,

1. He was a person exemplary for piety, modesty, humility, charity, forgiveness of injuries, and all other virtues both Christian and moral, as Father Fulgentius (who most intimately knew him) tells us. "Even in his youth," says he, "he was never reprehended for speaking an undecent word, or doing an unbeseeming act."‡ Can it then be supposed, that in his elder age, he should publish to the world a book fraught with malicious lies ?

2. To what purpose can we suppose he should report things otherways than he knew them to be ? Men are not wont to play the knave for naught, but in hope of some advantage which may accrue to themselves thereby ; and the baits by which they are allured are either the lust of the flesh, or the lust of the eye, or the pride of life.

To the lust of the flesh he was so mortified, that he drank nothing but water till he had passed the thirtieth year of his age ; and then, not without much averseness, was he prevailed with by his physicians, in order to his health, to drink wine ; and among other things which he repented himself of, this was one—that he had been persuaded to the use of wine. His food was so slender, that for the most part he eat nothing but bread and fruits ; of flesh very little till he had passed his fifty-fifth year. His life was the most toilsome and painful that any religious man was able to lead.§

The lust of the eye had so little power over him, that he

* Life, p. 97.

† Pallav. Apparat. ad Hist. c. 4. [1670. vol. 1. p. 11, &c.]

‡ Life, p. 16. § See his Life, p. 18, 20, 156, et passim.

never had of money any more than was necessary for a day's use, though he had daily opportunities of heaping up riches. He yielded his service freely in all causes, without receiving any recognition whatsoever. And though many attempted to fix a gift upon him, yet he never received the least gratuity ; “ being always content with this only reward, of having done well.”*

And for the pride of life, he so much despised it, that he not only not desired, but refused to accept many great honours and preferments that were offered him ; and was content to spend his life in a cell, so far from any manner of pomp and state, that he never had any ornament for his chamber, nor more than one simple garment to put on. In short, the manifest truth is, that had he sought after worldly glory or greatness in any kind, his temptations lay all on the other hand ; for would he but have humoured and flattered the Pope and his court, he might have easily been advanced to be the chief minister of state under him.†

It is, I know, said by some, that all this was to get a name ; but what can be said with less pretence of truth or reason, since this was that he studiously declined ? How many useful inventions does the world owe to him, which he would not own himself to be the author of ? How many secrets did he discover, which he was pleased others should have the honour to publish, as if they had been theirs ? How resolute was he to leave nothing behind him, either of his own hand or other men's, that might carry his name or preserve his memory ?‡ And had his design been to render himself infamous to all succeeding generations, the belying of the Council had been a most proper means in order to this end ; there being those memorials in many men's hands in France, in Spain, in Germany, in Italy, by which the falsity might be detected, and he exposed to the reproach of all the world.

3. But be it so, that none of the flattering temptations were able to corrupt him ; yet it is certain (say others) that having been highly disengaged by the Pope and his court, he was resolved to be revenged for the wrongs they had done him. Which aspersion is easily wiped off by considering these two things :—1. His wonderful charity, not only in giving, but for-

* Life, p. 132, 133.

† Et, si Papæ adulari assentarique animum induxisset, Ministrorum Pontificiæ dominationis facile Princeps. ‡ P. 157, 158, 159.

giving. 2. How earnestly he endeavoured, when he had the greatest provocations to the contrary imaginable, to conceal those things that might reflect disgrace upon the religion he professed. Of both which, Father Fulgentio hath given us pregnant proofs in his Life. When he was treacherously assaulted and barbarously wounded (by wretches hired by the Pope to murder him), what was his revenge? He prayed the High Council often, that as he with all his heart did pardon him that offended, so they would make no other demonstration of it, but what might serve to defend him better, if God should please to prolong his life; expressing in his actions as a Christian and son of the heavenly Father, his due obedience to the Gospel; and as a philosopher, that he had eradicated out of his soul all spirit of revenge.* And when it was reported, not many hours after, that the assassins were apprehended, he seemed to be much displeased at the news, saying, "Perhaps they may discover something that may give scandal to the world, and prejudice to religion."† When another plot against his life was discovered, instead of making a requital, he interceded for the murderers, and that not slightly, but petitioned often upon his knees, demanding this as a favour in recompense of his best services done for the public, that for his sake they should not be made spectacles, to the dishonour of his religion.‡ When not only his life, but (which is more) his honour was attacked by the most opprobrious libels, he never shewed the least sign either of disdain or revenge. In such perfection was his meekness, that those of his religion, with a general voice, rendered him this testimony, that they never knew him endeavour any the least kind of revenge.§ And it is Fulgentio's note upon his charity expressed towards his assassins, that it was not a singular action of his, upon that offence only; but that formerly, and after, in the whole course of his life, he never procured any revenge, although the injuries were never so great. And the most that was ever heard to come out of his mouth, with respect to his wrongs, though most insufferable, was to say sometimes, with a serene countenance, *videat Dominus et requirat.*

Nor did he think it enough not to return the evil, but so great was his charity, that it put him upon doing good, as he had opportunity, to his implacable enemies. He was no less

* Life, [1651.] p. 123, 124.

‡ Ib. p. 144.

† Ib. p. 126.

§ Ib. p. 148.

zealous after the stabs given him than he had been before, in defending the lawful rights of those to whom he imputed that villainous act.* To conclude this particular : What shew of probability is there, that the friar should compile this history out of spite and revenge for the wound given him, and the snares laid for him by the Pope, when it is certain that he had undertaken this work many years before, (and perhaps by that time finished it) ? it being not the product of a sudden passion, but, as Pallavicino confesses, the work of almost his whole life.†

By what has been said is manifest, as his charity for his enemies, so his piety toward God too : that he had a value for his religion more than for his life ; was so tender of its reputation, that in comparison he neglected his own.

4. Though this alone is enough to clear him from the black charge of impiety and hypocrisy that Pallavicino prefers against him, yet because the jesuit pretends to prove what he says, I shall briefly consider the proof he produces. The charge in brief is, that he did not believe the faith he professed, but was a Catholic in pretence only, an heretic in truth.‡ And four arguments are brought to prove it.

1. Because his History of the Council is a book destructive of the faith he professed.§ It is granted that he sometimes speaks freely of those errors, both in doctrine and practice, by which the Christian faith was shamefully corrupted in the Church of Rome : but if this be to subvert the faith, how many must be put into the list of heretics, who yet pass in the Roman Church for good Catholics ? Let them produce any one instance out of Soave's History that is most derogatory to their faith, and I promise to produce the same, or one equivalent, out of some other Romish writer, who is not yet censured for an heretic. And what palpable iniquity is it to make that a note of heresy in him, which they account not so in others ?

But what if Pallavicino's own history be more injurious to the Roman faith than Father Paul's ? It is so in the judgment of some learned Romanists. Aquilinus says roundly, that it is more mischievous, and he gives these reasons for it ; because,

* Non minus etiam post, quam ante lethale vulnus, pro eorum legitimis juribus stetit, quibus ipse cum plerisque patratum facinus adscribebat. Com. Jul. Clem. Not. 64. Moral. p. 43.

† Desudavit in hoc opere non aestu quodam celeri, sed tanta laboris maturitate, ut in hoc vitam fere totam impenderit.

‡ Apparat. ad Hist. c. 3. n. 4. [1670. vol. 1. p. 10.]

§ Apparat. ad Hist. c. 2. [ibid. p. 5.]

says he, Pallavicino relates many scandalous passages which Soave omitted, and frequently interprets, amplifies and defends those ill things that are written by him ; and those things which are for the honour of the Council, and are truly reported by Soave, they are either lessened, or omitted, or contracted by Pallavicino.* So that he concludes, that by special divine Providence it came to pass that his History swelled into two volumes, that very few might be found, and those none but such as are exceeding phlegmatic, who will have the patience entirely to read it. Another learned man of that Church is much of the same mind ; for he says, that the Cardinal, who complains that Friar Paul does nothing but defame the legates and the fathers, had done them much more honour, if he had not reported so much of those matters which may give advantage to heretics and to critics, may scandalise weak persons, and destroy that grand conceit which people ought to have of the majesty of Councils, and that reverence which that of Trent deserves.† And Comes Julius Clemens, (another learned man of the Roman communion) shews that his history is scandalous, and more pernicious than Father Paul's.‡ Judge now which of the two historians does best deserve the name of heretic ?

2. The Cardinal thinks to prove him a counterfeit Catholic by certain letters intercepted, supposed to be his, written to Castrine, a Huguenot in France, in which he seems to wish well to the Huguenot's cause. But does not the Cardinal himself seem to doubt whether these letters were his, when he says that either they were written with his own hand, or by signs and efficacious proofs known to be his. He dares not say they were written with his own hand ; what then are the efficacious proofs ? Not the least shadow of proof is produced, unless this may pass for one, that they were sent as his to Paul V. by Car-

* Refert enim quamplurima quæ scandalum inducunt, et apud Petrum Soave non sunt ; ac non semel malorum quæ ab illo scripta sunt, est amplificator, interpres, atque defensor, p. 51. [Antw. 1662.] Ex dictis optime liquet, quanto perniciosior sit Pallavicini quam Petri Soave Historia, cum in illa et offendatur Romanorum Pontificum fama, hæreticorum dicta enumerantur et amplificantur ; rixæ, contentiones et scandala inter Catholicos, quæ in concilio acciderunt, sigillatim reseruntur ; et qua bona et recta à Petro Soave enarrata vel minauntur, vel prætermittuntur, vel in contradictionem vocantur ; quæ omnia aperte indigitant, quantum Catholicæ fidei, et Concilii Tridentini causæ non leviter noceant. [Ib. p. 95.]

† Amelot. Preface a l'Histoire du Concile de Trente. [Amelot's Preface (ed. 1699.) is neither paged nor numbered in any way.]

‡ Not. Moral. &c. p. 18, & 41.

dinal Ubaldin, the Pope's Nuncio in France. And verily, if the Cardinal's prime argument against Father Paul be efficacious, so far is this from being a proof that they were his, that it is an efficacious argument that they were not. For what is the argument he most insists upon, to prove that no credit is to be given to Father Paul, but because he was an enemy to the Pope and Catholics? And can it be supposed that he was a greater enemy to the Pope than Ubaldin was to him, who made it his constant practice to defame him with odious names?^{*} Whose enmity against him was so monstrous, that he professed that he the more believed him to be a lewd wretch and an exquisite hypocrite, from his irreprehensible life.[†] Is there any calumny so gross that such a man would boggle at? May we not therefore conclude, by Pallavicino's own logic, that he either forged the letters, or at least corrupted them? But in case he did not, may it not be reasonably supposed that some other person did, if we consider—1. The palpable forgeries that in his lifetime were foisted into some of his printed discourses. 2. The numberless calumnies that were spread of him by the Pope's creatures. 3. The false reports raised of him by that great man Cardinal Maffeo Barbarini (who was afterwards Pope Urban VIII.) so base and unworthy, that the author of his Life was ashamed to mention them.[‡] 4. The frightful stories divulged of him presently after his death, as that he died howling, and crying out of the apparition of black dogs; that in his cell and chambers hideous noises were heard.[§] These things considered, it may well be supposed that the passages alleged are none of Soave's, especially considering—1. That nothing is produced to prove that they are. 2. That he was so far from any inclination to change his religion, that when he had the strongest temptation to it, he expressed his firm resolution to adhere to it (as will presently appear).

Nor is this to be looked upon as the shift of an heretic; for the learned Romanist before quoted asserts the very same thing. It is to be believed, says he, that these letters are either forged, or at least kneaded with a foreign leaven, that has cor-

* Questo sempre infamava il Padre, con nomi odiosi, per iscritti pubblicati. *Vita del Padre Paolo*, p. 223.

† Al che replicava il Nuntio Ubaldini, che tanto pluisi confermava nella sua opinione, che fosse un' huomo tristo et un hypocrita esquisito, dalla sua irrepprensibil vita. p. 224.

‡ P. 290. [1620.]

§ P. 317, 318. [1620.]

rupted the whole lump.* I proceed to Pallavicino's next argument.

3. Claudius Sarriavius, a Calvinist, saw several letters of Father Paul's to Philip Mornay and Villerius Hottoman, who were also Calvinists. But is anything quoted out of these letters that smells of heresy? Not a word. How then doth it appear by these letters that Father Paul was an heretic, because they were written to those that were heretics? As if it had not ever been the practice, and ever will be, for learned men of different religions to hold correspondence by letters. As if a Counsellor of State in England could not write to a Papist in France, but he himself must be a Papist; or a Papist write to a Protestant, but he also must turn Protestant. If this argument be conclusive, how many pernicious heretics will be found to be right good Catholics? But Sarriavius speaks of the Father with respect and honour. And so does Melancthon of the Bishop of Ausburg,† and the Bishop of Breslaw, and of Julius Pfleg and Groperus;‡ and yet, I trow, these were no heretics. And Cardinal Sadolet, in his Epistle to Melancthon, speaks highly in his commendation, and makes profession of great friendship to him, who yet was never thought to be either Lutheran, or Calvinist, or Zuinglian.§ But the killing argument comes last, viz. :—

4. That Father Paul thus addressed to Sommerdick, the Holland ambassador, "I exceedingly rejoice, that I have lived to see in my country an ambassador of that commonwealth, that together with me acknowledges this truth, that the bishop of Rome is the Antichrist."|| This would indeed do the work, were not the calumny too broad to gain credit. For put the case it be true, "that the Pope is Antichrist," yet is it creditable that Father Paul believed it? "When," as the author of his life tells us, "he always spake and writ with great reverence concerning the Popes, and the Apostolical chair."¶ That, when upon the interdict of Paul V., many pamphlets were published to render the Pope odious, and to provoke the

* Mais il est a croire, qu'elles sont, ou suposées, ou du moins repétées avec un levain étranger, qui en a corrompu toute la masse. Amelot.

† Melanchth. Epist. 1.1. Epist. 65.

‡ Lib. 3. Epist. 45.

§ Lib. 3. Epist. 39.

|| Lætor summopere me eo usque vixisse, dum in Patria mea cernerem legatum illius Reipublicæ, quæ mecum hanc veritatem agnoscit; Romanum Pontificem esse Antichristum. Apparat. c. 2. [n. 3. 1670. vol. I. p. 7.] ¶ P. 102. Edit. Lond. 1651.

Republic to change their religion,) “he inculcated upon them the necessity of adhering to it; that God, by his singular grace, had placed them in the Catholic Apostolic Roman holy Church, for which they were bound to acknowledge his divine favour, and to render him continual thanks, since no greater misfortune could befall them, than that they should abandon or forsake it; that no man ought to suffer himself to be shaken in his confidence, nor the prince to give way, that a change or alteration should be so much as spoken of.”* In a word, “That in all his consultations and writings, he always honoured the See Apostolic, and the Popes, with a supreme reverence.”†

But suppose the Father had thought the Pope to be Anti-christ, can any considering man believe, that he would have declared it to the Dutch ambassador? Is it to be imagined, that such a wise statesman (as his adversaries grant him to be), that he, who in the heat of his dispute with the Pope, was so cautious, that no unhandsome reflecting word might slip from his pen: that he who took so great care that nothing might pass the press that might be just occasion of offence to the Pope and his court: that he who well knew how tender the Republic was of their honour in point of religion, and how highly offended when Pius IV. seemed to think, that they had recommended to him for cardinal, a person suspected of heresy: that he, who, after he entered upon public employment, denied himself the pleasure of converse with many learned men, that none might take occasion to reflect upon the State: that he who knew, that if he was suspected of heresy, the State would be so too, because in all matters relating to religion, he was their oracle, and that nothing could be more dangerous to the State than to fall under such a suspicion? Can it, I say, be supposed, by any man not forsaken of his sense and reason, that such a person as this should utter those words? And that he should utter them to a stranger? and to a stranger, that he spake to but occasionally, and in haste?”†

But now for once, to gratify the Cardinal, let us grant, that in his notion of heresy, Father Paul was an heretic, for he did not believe that the Pope is above a Council, or that he hath power to depose princes. He did not believe him to be an

* P. 160, 161. Edit. Lond. 1651.

† Ib. p. 165.

‡ — Incidissetque ipsi opportunitas cursim illius alloquendi. Apparat. c. 2. [n. 13. p. 7.]

infallible dictator, and that, in case he err, men are bound to own his errors for truth ; and such heretics, I think, we may reckon Gerson, Espensæus, Richerius, and the generality of the Gallican Church. But to proceed :

5. There cannot be a more undoubted argument of sincerity in an historian, than impartiality : and this is in many things so visible in Father Paul's history, that he must shut his eyes close who does not discern it. Pallavicino, it is true, frequently represents him as a man of such malignity against the Popes, the Presidents of the Councils, the Catholics (as they call themselves in the general,) as prompted him always to defame them. But this is a wilful misrepresentation. He was as ready to speak good, where there was ground for it, as evil of them : he relates those things that make for their credit, as well as their disgrace, and sets their virtues in as clear a light as he does their vices. I shall give some instances relating to the Popes and Presidents of the Council.

1. To begin with the Popes. He says of Leo X., "That he was careless in things that concerned religion and piety." But does he not also say, that "he adorned the Papacy with many good parts which he brought into it, amongst which were his singular learning in humanity, goodness, and a marvellous sweet manner in treating of affairs, with a pleasing behaviour more than humane, joined with incomparable liberality, and a great inclination to favour those that were learned, and endowed with any extraordinary quality. Which virtues were not found in that See of a long time before, neither equal, nor near unto his."* He tells us, "That Clement VII. was a bastard, and mounted to the Popedom by simony, and lays open those artifices by which he eluded the calling of a General Council." But when he gives us his character, he also acquaints us with his virtues (such as they were) :— "He died," says he, "with no small joy of the Court. For though they admired his virtues, which were a natural gravity, exemplary parsimony, and dissimulation ; yet they hated more his avarice, rigidity, and cruelty."† Of Paul III. he says, "That he was a prelate endowed with good qualities, and among all his virtues, he made more esteem of none than of dissimulation."‡ Of Julius III., "That he spent whole days in gardens, plotted out delicious buildings, and shewed himself more inclined to

* P. 4. [1640.]

† Ib. p. 71.

‡ Ibid.

pleasure than business.* But is it not commendable, that he made choice of Cardinal Pool, for his legate into England, thinking that, because he was of the blood royal, and of an exemplary life, he would be the fittest instrument to reduce that kingdom to the Church of Rome?"† He represents Paul IV. "as a passionate, proud, domineering huff;" but he withal mentions "the severity of his manners in the foregoing part of his life, and his endeavours, after he came to the Popedom, to reform the Court." In like manner he treats Pius IV. In a word, those Popes who were most infamous for their vices, he finds something to say of them that is laudable.

But then, what says he of Adrian VI.? "Oh! he was a man too good for this world: for the court (says he) being not worthy of such a Pope, it pleased God to call him."‡ What says he of Marcellus II.? "He was a man grave and severe by nature, and of a constant mind, that shewed the world that his dignity had not changed him; he thought it necessary to make an entire reformation, and that it would be no loss to the Papacy to cut off its pomps and vanities, but would preserve and enlarge it."§

Now is not this to write impartially? Had he hated the Popes, and not their vices only, he would have spoken ill of one as well as another. Had he been such a momus to the Popes, as Pallavicino reports him,|| he could have seen nothing in many of them besides their vices: whereas the truth is, if he was partial, it was rather in their favour. For though indeed the pictures he hath left of some of them are ugly enough, yet they are so much more deformed, as drawn by others (who yet were no heretics), that his, when compared with theirs, may be thought to flatter them. Yea, I appeal to any indifferent reader, whether Pallavicino himself says not more to the discredit of Leo X.¶ Whether the character he gives of Julius III. does not make more to his disgrace,** than that Soave gives him. And for those Popes which Soave highly commends, does not Pallavicino as much defame them? Adrian, of whom Soave thought the world not worthy, Palla-

* Lib. 3. p. 299. [1640.]

† Ib. Lib. 5. p. 384.

‡ Ib. Lib. 1. p. 30.

§ Ib. Lib. 5. p. 389, 399.

|| Lynceus ille Romanorum Pontificum Momus, l. 14. c. 1. n. 6. [1670. vol. 2. p. 494.]

¶ Hist. l. 1. c. 21. [n. 2. &c. vol. 1. p. 85. &c. 1656.]

** L. 13. c. 10. n. 8. [Ibid. vol. 2. p. 45, 46.]

vicino represents as a Pope not worthy of the world. "He was indeed an excellent priest, but in truth a mean Pope; the cardinals valued him above his desert, when they exalted him to the Papal throne."* And for Marcellus, though he fall foul upon Soave for defaming him, yet see what a worthy eulogy he has left of him. "It was happy for him that he died so soon; for had his reign been long, he would hardly have maintained by his actions that high opinion the world hath conceived of him."† To conclude this, if we may credit Aquilinus, Pallavicino seems to have done more mischief to the Church of Rome, by what he has written of the Popes, than Soave.‡ *Quis tulerit Gracchos?*

2. Having seen how fairly he treats the Popes, let us now look whether he hath shewed himself so just to their legates in the Council. Pallavicino says, "That he defames not only some, but all the presidents, and that perpetually."§ If this accusation were true, it would be a shrewd argument of his insincerity; but how remote it is from the neighbourhood of truth, will soon be made appear.

The Presidents of the Council under Paul III., were John Maria de Monte cardinal bishop of Palestine; Marcellus Cervinus cardinal priest of the Holy Cross; and Reginald Pool cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin. Hear now what Soave says of them. "In this man (viz. Reginald Pool) the Pope chose nobility of blood, and opinion of piety, which commonly was had of him: in Marcellus, constancy, and immoveable and undaunted perseverance, together with exquisite knowledge: in Monte, reality and openness of mind, with such fidelity to his patrons, that he preferred their interest to the safety of his own conscience."|| Is there any thing in this but what is for the credit of Reginald and Marcellus? And nothing but the last clause that can reflect the least disparagement upon Monte. He says, "That the legate's admonition (at the opening of the Council) was accounted pious, Christian,

* Fu ecclesiastico ottimo, Pontifice in verità mediocre, &c. l. 2. c. 9. [n. 1. vol. 1. p. 220.] † Lib. 13. c. 11. n. 7. [vol. 2. p. 49.]

‡ Certum sane apparet, quantum detrimenti Catholicæ reipublicæ inducat hæc Pallavicini historia in his quæ de Romanis Pontificibus narrat. Unde e contra minus damni Petrus Soave in suo opere afferre videtur, [1662.] p. 77.

§ Non parlo del vituperio perpetuo col quale infama e tutti i Prefidenti di est, etc. Introduz. [c. 2. n. 2. vol. 1. p. 51. 1656.]

|| [1640.] L. 2. p. 111.

modest, and worthy the cardinals.”* And this, I hope, is not to disgrace them. Again, “That they proposed to the Pope’s consideration, that it would be good to make some effectual reformation in Rome.”† And that at Trent, in the next congregation, “they proposed the reformation of divers abuses.”‡ These things are spoken of the legates in common.

Let us now see, what he says of each of them apart, and first of Marcellus. “When a great and rich prelate,§ in the congregation, went about to shew that they ought only to aim at the reformation, aggravating much the common deformation of the whole clergy, and inculcating, that so long as our vessels were not cleansed, the Holy Ghost would not dwell in them. The Cardinal of Holy Cross much commended that prelate for making mention of a thing so holy, and of so good example : for beginning from themselves, they might easily reform all the rest of the world ; and he earnestly exhorted all to the practice thereof.”|| He tells us also, “that the Cardinal took incredible pains to make the decrees (viz. of the sixth session), avoiding, as much as was possible, to insert any thing that was controverted among the schoolmen, and so handling those which could not be omitted, as that every one might be contented.”¶ And truly,” says he, “concerning these particulars, it is not fit to rob the Cardinal of his due praise.”** It seems Soave intended this for his praise.

And so did he many things which he hath left on record concerning the Cardinal of Monte. For instance, his discourse about residence, in which the Cardinal says, “That the world hath complained long since of the absence of prelates and pastors, daily demanding residence : that their absence from their churches is the cause of all the mischiefs of the Church : for the Church may be compared to a ship, the sinking whereof is ascribed to the absent pilot : that heresies, ignorance, and dissolution, do reign in the people, and bad manners and vices in the clergy, because that pastors being absent from the flock, no man hath care to instruct those, or correct these,” &c.†† When his master, the Pope, ordered the legates to find out matters to delay the session, “Monte, who was of an ingenuous disposition, thought it would be hard, and could not promise

* [1640.] l. 2. p. 132. † Ib. l. 2. p. 254. ‡ Ib. p. 256.

§ This was the Cardinal of Trent. ¶ L. 2. p. 144. [1640.]

|| Ib. p. 215. ** Ib. p. 216. †† Ib. l. 2. p. 191.

to be constant in so long a dissimulation.”* This may perhaps pass for a defamation with Pallavicino, the Jesuits being so excellent at the art of dissembling. He elsewhere tells us, that Monte was *preremptory* against the abuse of selling the sacraments.† And his zeal, courage, and undaunted resolution, upon all occasions, in asserting and maintaining the Pope’s power and greatness,‡ one who hath read Pallavicino’s new gospel, would not think the Cardinal should reckon it a disparagement to him.

Let us now see how Soave defames Cardinal Pool. He says, “ That he was of the blood royal ; that the dependents of the Farnesi, for his good disposition, were content to elect him Pope, to succeed Paul III. That he was of exemplary life. That he was acceptable to the nobility of England for his wisdom and sanctity.§ That many in England were scandalized and alienated from the Pope, for depriving him of his legation.” And if this be to dispraise, what is it to commend a man ? But let it be, that in the Jesuits’ reckoning, good disposition, and exemplary life, are no matters of just commendation.

The Presidents of the Council, under Julius III., were Marcellus Crescentius cardinal of S. Marcellus ; Sebastianus Pighius archbishop of Siponto ; and Aloisius Lipomannus bishop of Verona ; the first in the capacity of legate, the two last as nunciis, but of equal authority with the legate. And why, says Soave, did the Pope pitch upon these ? Upon Marcellus, because “ among all the cardinals, he found none more trusty, and withal more worthy :” upon the Archbishop of Siponto, for that great confidence he had in him before his Papacy : upon the Bishop of Verona, “ for the form of his great piety, loyalty, and goodness.”|| And what character, says he, did the Pope give of them to the Council ? That Marcellus was a “ zealous, wise, and learned cardinal ;” that the bishops of Siponto and Verona, “ were famous for knowledge and experience.” And if we read the exhortation, which Father Paul tells us, those Presidents gave to the Fathers of the Council, in the first session under Julius, I can hardly imagine that there is any man in the world, but a Jesuit, who will not think, that the Father intended it for their commen-

* P. 204. [1640.]

† Ib. p. 247.

‡ Ib. p. 260, 261, 266, 268, 279, 281.

§ Ib. p. 298, 384, 405.

|| Ib. l. 3. p. 310, 311.

dation ; and that there is something in it which really deserves it, particularly the conclusion, that “they should handle the matters of the Council with all gentleness, and without contention, as becometh so great an assembly, using perfect charity, and consent of minds, knowing that God doth behold and judge them.”*

Of the legates and presidents under Pius IV., I shall take notice of three only, viz. Gonzaga cardinal of Mantua, Cardinal Seripando, and Cardinal Morone.

“Mantua,” Soave tells us, “was a man eminent, not only in regard of the greatness of his house, and of his brother Ferandus, but for his own virtue.”† And one great instance of his virtue is (Soave tells us) the freedom he used to the Pope : “For he wrote to him with his own hand, that he had not a face to appear any more in congregation, to give words only, as he had done two years together : that all the ministers of princes do say, that howsoever his Holiness doth promise much for reformation, yet seeing nothing to be executed, they do not think that he hath any inclination to it.”‡

“Seripando,” he says, “was a divine of much fame.”§ That when he came to be prime legate, upon the death of Mantua, he wrote to the Pope, “That he would be glad his Holiness would send another legate, his superior, to govern the Council, or remove him ; but in case he would leave him prime legate, he told him, he would proceed as God should inspire him ; and that otherwise it were better to remove him absolutely.”|| But that which especially commends this president, is the account Soave gives of his death. “He died,” says he, “to the great grief of all the prelates, and of all Trent, having in the morning received the sacrament of the Eucharist, which he took out of his bed upon his knees. After that he returned to his bed, and in the presence of five prelates, &c. he confessed his faith, wholly conformable to the Catholic faith of the Roman Church, spake of the works of a Christian, of the resurrection of the dead, of the Council, recommending the progress of it to the legates,” &c.¶

Among many things related of Cardinal Morone to his praise, I shall mention only some passages of that speech, which he made upon his first coming to Trent. He told the

* L. 4. p. 317. [1640.]

† Ib. 1. 5. p. 444.

‡ Ib. 1. 7. p. 675.

§ Ib. 1. 5. p. 445.

¶ Ib. 1. 7. p. 687.

|| Ib. 1. 7. p. 678.

fathers, "That the wars, seditions, and other calamities present, and imminent for our sins, would cease if a means were found to appease God, and to restore the ancient purity. That he brought with him two things; one a good meaning of the Pope to secure the doctrine of faith, to correct bad manners, &c., the other, his own readiness to do what the Pope had commanded him. He prayed the fathers that contention and discord, and unprofitable questions being laid aside, which do grievously offend Christendom, they would seriously handle the things which were necessary."* Is there anything in this that Pallavicino can interpret to the discredit of Morone?

I think I have now proved what I undertook as to the Popes and Presidents of the Council; which was not that Soave never says anything to their dispraise, but that he sometimes says those things which are for their commendation; which is a plain confutation of Pallavicino's calumny, and an irrefragable argument of Father Paul's sincerity. And if the Jesuit so shamefully forges in matters so obvious, what credit is to be given to him in other things, in which the falsity is not so easily detected? Having said more than enough for the clearing of the first thing proposed, I proceed to the second, viz.

SECT. II.

*The credit of his history so far from being overthrown
that it is rather established by those that endeavoured to
destroy it.*

Secondly, the credit of Father Paul's history is so far from being overthrown, or so much as lessened, that it is rather confirmed and improved by those who have endeavoured to destroy it. Those are especially the two Jesuits before named, viz. Scipio Henricus, and Sfortia Pallavicino. Scipio Henry's book is divided into two parts. In the first he hath extracted out of Soave's history what he thought was good and advantageous to the Catholic religion; and this he hath digested into an History of the Council. In the second (which is divided into five sections) he hath gathered together the tares (as he calls them) and bound them up in bundles to be

* [1640.] 1. 7. p. 697.

burnt.* In both which he hath very much confirmed the truth of Soave's history.

1. In the first, because his own History of the Council is taken out of Father Paul's. He himself tells us that he hath put in nothing of his own invention ; that he hath borrowed almost nothing from the writings of others, but that his history is made up of those things alone which are contained in Soave's work.† Now these, which are the principal things, he supposes may be all true (though he says, indeed, that he will not vouch for the truth of them).‡ Yea, in the passages before quoted, he calls these "The wheat of Catholic truth, which is to be laid up in Christ's granary :" and if it be granted that these are truly reported by Soave, there will be little reason to suspect that other matters of less moment are forged.

2. In the second part he further builds up what he intended to pull down, because those things in Soave's history which he says are lies : first, some of them, in case they are so, are lies of his own forging. Secondly, others, the reasons he gives are of no force to prove them so. Thirdly, others are such things, which an unprejudiced person will be so far from looking upon as lies, that he will be thereby the more inclined to believe all the rest Father Paul says to be true.

1. Some of them are lies of his own making, by misrepresenting Soave's words. For instance, "The historian," says Henry, "lies in saying that the fathers themselves were not divines ; for since in every session they had sermons, certainly some of them were divines."§ As if Father Paul had said that none of them were divines, when he says nothing like it.

* Et sane admirabile est qua ratione in opere hoc vera cum falsis admixta sint : et ex bonis et pro Catholica Religione utilibus Hæreticorum deliramenta orientur. Cum ergo pia et impia cognoscantur in hoc Volumine admixta, meum erit Hæreticorum zizania alligare in fasciculos ad comburendum, et Catholicæ veritatis triticum in horreum Christi reponere. Præfat. ad Lect.

† Lectorum admonitum volo me in Hist. Concilii Trident. componna, nihil ex proprio ingenio, nihil fere ex aliorum Scriptis reposuisse : sed ea tantum quæ in ipsius Historici opere continentur. Præfat. ad Lect.

‡ Præterea est advertendum, quod ea, quæ ex illo volumine extracta in Historiam a me rediguntur, non protinus ut vera et approbata amplectenda esse : sed ut quæ in illo opere inventa, et possibilia fuisse non repugnet. Ibid.

§ Mentitur Historicus dicendo Patres ipsos non fuisse Theologos ; cum enim per singulas Sessiones Conciones in eis habuerint, certe certe aliqui ex eis Theologi erant. Sect. 5. Art. 2.

"There were," says he, "few divines but of less than ordinary sufficiency."* Which words suppose that many of them were divines, and assert only, that there were but few of those many, whose abilities were not below the vulgar sort of divines. As he here abuses Soave by taking from his words, so in other places by adding to them. As when he makes him say, "That the assertions of Luther were condemned by courtiers that were unlearned and unskilful, and not fit for matters of so great weight."† The words "unlearned," &c. are foisted in by himself, to furnish out matters for a lie.

2. Other matters which he says are lies, the reasons he gives are of no force to provethem to be so. For instance, "It is false," says he, "that the common opinion of the divines was that this article [men are not bound to communicate at Easter] ought not to be condemned for heretical." Why? Because it was afterwards condemned by the Council;‡ as if the bishops in session might not condemn that for heresy, which the greater part of the divines in congregation were of opinion deserved not so severe a censure: for the same reason he concludes, that there was no such difference in opinion among the divines as Soave mentions, about the sacramental eating of Christ.§

3. Many of them are such, which an unprejudiced man will be so far from taking for lies, that he will for their sakes be the more inclined to believe all the rest that Soave says to be true. For will he not conclude, that certainly untruths are very rare to be met with, when a spiteful adversary (who was resolved either to find or make them) was forced to reckon for lies such things as these.

1. Those things which are reported by other historians of untainted credit. For instance, "That the Council was translated to Bologna by the Pope's order."|| Which is expressly affirmed by Onuphrius.¶ And, as Aquilinus tells us, "Mamfrinus Rosseus, and Dionysius à Feno, and those Italians that write general histories, report the same thing; yea, that all

* Soave, l. 2. p. 163.

† Quinto, quod harum assertionum damnatio facta fuit à quibusdam Aulicis, imperitis, et ad res tanti ponderis non bene aptis. Quare Judices isti simpliciter Aulici indocti, ut postea, Historicus asserit, non fuerunt. Sect. 5. Art. 1.

‡ Sect. 2. Art. 3. § Ibid. || Sect. 4. Art. 2.

¶ In Vita Pauli III. [p. 376. Colon. 1574.]

those writers who, before Soave's time, make mention of this transaction, they ascribe it to the Pope's mandates.”* And so pitiful are the reasons Scipio (and Pallavicino too) give to the contrary, that they are despised by Aquilinus, and represented as ridiculous by Amelot.†

2. Those things, which if they are lies, the bishops of the Council, the princes and their ambassadors, yea, the Pope and his cardinals are the liars. For instance, “It is,” says Henry, “a vain and ridiculous thing; yea, the forgery of the lying historian, that if the residence, or institution of bishops, be declared to be of divine right, the Pope can have no more authority over them.”‡ Let it be so ridiculous; but then not Soave, but the archbishop of Granata, the bishop of Segovia, and the rest of the Spanish bishops (yea, and Lainez, the general of the Jesuits) were the forgers of this ridiculous lie; for they were the men who asserted it, and Soave as an historian only reports it of them: yea, the cardinals, and the Pope himself, were almost as much mistaken, as we find by the letters of Monsieur de Lisle, the king of France's ambassador, then at Rome.§ Again, “That the Council was not free,” Henry reckons for a lie; but if it be so, the emperor, the king of Spain, the king of France, together with their ambassadors, and the Spanish, French, and Polonian bishops were also liars: for they frequently complained that the Council was in servitude.

3. Divers others matters, in which he gives Soave the lie, are such notorious truths, that no man who has not the impudence of a Jesuit can have the face to deny them. For instance, Soave says. “That he that readeth St. Austin will know, that in nine places, not in a word, but in a discourse, he doth affirm the necessity of the Eucharist for children, and two of them do make it equal with the necessity of baptism: yea, he saith more than once, that the Church of Rome hath

P. 32. [Antw. 1662.] † Preface. [Not paged or numbered.]

‡ Quare vanum et ridiculum est, imo et figmentum mentientis Historici, si declaretur Episcoporum Residentiam sive Institutionem, &c. Sect. 3. Art. 4.

§ Cet article de residence est reputé de grand préjudice, au Pape et à ceste Cour, et de grande efficace pour croire la dignité et autorité des Evesques, &c. Let. au. Roy du 6 May, 1562. [p. 182.] Je vous assure que cet article de residence attribué au Droict Divin, avec autres qui en dépendent, est reputé ici de grande et dommageable conséquence. Extract d'une let. de Mons. de Lisle à Mons. de Lansac. Mémoires pour le Concile de Trente, p. 188. [Par. 1654.] See also p. 322.

held and defined it necessary for the salvation of children, and doth allege it for Pope Innocent, whose epistle doth yet remain, in which he saith it plainly.”* Now here the Jesuit with open mouth cries out, that he belies both St. Austin and Pope Innocent. “For what he saith (says he) of the authority of Austin is a manifest lie; and it is certain that the historian, after his wonted manner, belies Pope Innocent.”† A manifest lie! these two things he says of St. Austin. First, that he does affirm the necessity of the Eucharist for children; secondly, that he does allege for it Pope Innocent: both which will presently appear to be most manifest truths.

As to the first, no man that hath looked into the writings of St. Austin against the Pelagians, can be ignorant that he frequently, and with zeal asserts this, if the words *parvuli* and *infantes* signify children. But because the Jesuit says “that the historian ought to have quoted the places, and the words,” though it will be too tedious to transcribe the words, they are so many, yet I will refer the reader to at least nine places in which he may find such words as manifestly prove this.‡ And divers of these places (particularly de Peccator. Merit. et Remis. l. 1. c. 20. &c. 24.) do make the Eucharist as necessary to children as baptism. And which is observable, St. Austin makes the drinking of the blood of Christ no less necessary to infants than the eating of his flesh; which is a manifest proof, that in his days the cup was thought necessary for the laity.

It is true, that Aquinas in the place quoted by Henry, asserts the contrary doctrine out of St. Austin: but nothing can be truer than that Aquinas either ignorantly or wilfully abuses the father, by perverting first his words, in changing

* L. 6. p. 539. [Lond. 1620.]

† Cæterum quod dicit de autoritate Augustini, est apertum mendacium: et debuissest Historicus non loqui perperam, sed referre loca atque ejus verba. Oppositum enim ex eodem Augustino asserit S. Thomas, 3. p. q. art. 3. referens verba ejusdem ad Bonifacium contra Pelagianos, quæ talia sunt: nec illud cogitetis, parvulos vitam habere non posse, qui sunt expertes corporis et sanguinis Christi. Et ibidem qu. 50. Artic. 7. refert eundem Augustinum asserentem, parvulos ante usum rationis communicandos non esse. De Innocentio Papa certum est, Historicum mentiri more solito. Sect. 5. Art. 9. p. 208.

‡ Epist. 106. Epist. 107. [1679. vol. 2. col. 304.] De Peccator. Merit. et Remiss. l. 1. c. 20. et cap. 24. [vol. 10. col. 15, 19.] Contra duas Epist. Pelag. l. 1. c. 22. [Ibid. col. 429.] l. 2. c. 4. [col. 435.] l. 4. c. 4. [col. 470. B.] Contra Julian. l. 1. col. 943. et col. 949. et l. 3. c. 1. col. 991. Contra Pelag. Hypognost. l. 5.

cogitatis into *cogitetis* (for so it is in Aquinas), and then wresting them to a sense directly contrary to St. Austin's meaning; for those very words are used by him to prove that little children cannot be saved without receiving the body and blood of Christ, as will be evident to any man, who will be at the pains to consult the context. What he says, St. Thomas quotes out of St. Austin to the same purpose, *qu. 50. Art. 7.* is certainly false, because there is no 7th Art. under that question.

And as manifest it is, that St. Austin alleges Pope Innocent for this doctrine (which is the other thing Father Paul says of him) "For behold (saith he) Pope Innocent of blessed memory says, 'That little children have not life without the baptism of Christ, and without partaking of the body and blood of Christ.'"^{*} "And see," says he to Julian, "what thou canst answer to St. Innocent, who hath determined that little children can no way have life unless they eat the flesh of the Son."[†] I think by this time, what the Jesuit calls a manifest lie, doth appear to be a truth as manifest as day.

"But it is certain," says he, "that he belies Pope Innocent." All that he says concerning Innocent is, "That his epistle yet remains, in which he plainly says this." If, then, it be certain that Father Paul belies him, it must also be certain that when he wrote this there was no such epistle of Pope Innocent's in being. And yet it is certain that this Epistle remains still, and any one that lists may see it among St. Austin's Epistles (viz. *Epist. 93*) and in *Binius*.[‡] His words are these: "That which your brotherhood asserts they preach (viz. the Pelagians) that little children may attain the rewards of eternal life, without the grace of baptism, is very absurd: for unless they eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, they shall not have life."[§] *Binius* upon these

* Ecce Beatae memoriae Innocentius Papa, sine Baptismo Christi, et sine participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi, vitam non habere parvulos dicit. *Contr. duas Epist. Pelag.* 1. 2. c. 4. [col. 436.]

† *Sancto Innocentio vide quid respondeas, qui nihil aliud de hac re sapit, &c. Qui denique parvulos definit nisi manducaverint carnem filii, vitam prorsus habere non posse.* *Contra Julian. Pelag.* 1. 1. col. 943. to. 947. *Edit. Bas.*

‡ *Concil. Tom. 1. p. 768, 769.*

§ *Illud vero quod eos vestra fraternitas asserit praedicare, parvulos æternæ vitæ præmiis etiam sine baptismatis gratia posse donari, perfatum*

words, *Nisi manducaverint*, &c. says, "That some men of learning have thought that Innocent understood this place of St. John, not of the Eucharist, but of baptism: but they were deceived (says he), in that they did not apprehend the force of the argument which the Pope uses. For he proves the necessity of baptism for children, because the Eucharist is necessary, of which they are not capable without baptism. And upon these words, *illud vero*, &c. his note is: "Hence it is manifest, that in the judgment of Innocent I. the Eucharist is necessary even for infants."* In short, what the historian here affirms, is so far from a certain and manifest lie, that Binius and Maldonate expressly affirm the same, both of Innocent and St. Austin: and not only so, but that this opinion prevailed in the Church for about 600 years.† The manifest consequence of which is, that since the Council of Trent hath denounced an anathema against all those who say the communion of the Eucharist is necessary for children:‡ it is certain, that either Pope Innocent I., St. Austin, and other the most eminent fathers for 600 years were heretics, or Pope Pius IV. and the Council of Trent have erred. If any person desires more instances of this nature they shall soon be produced.

2. Nor is Father Paul less beholden to Pallavicino, for the confutation of his History of the Council; and that upon many accounts, a few of which it may suffice briefly to mention.

1. He refutes it by such arguments as are apparently vain and unconcluding: viz. that a thing is false that is not to be found in those letters, memorials, or acts, which he had consulted. "The divines of Louvain (saith Pallavicino) did not oppose the reservation of cases to a superior tribunal:" why? because he found it not in the acts of the Council that they did.§ It is false, "That many of the Spanish prelates did make instance to the legates that the Imperialists might not be

est: nisi enim manducaverint carnem filii hominis et biberint sanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in semet ipsis.

* Hinc constat Innocentii I. sententia (quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in Ecclesia, quamque S. Augustinus sectatus est) Eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam esse. Concil. Tom. I. p. 769.

† Missam facio Augustini et Innocentii I. sententiam (quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in Ecclesia) Eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam esse, Maldonat. 6. cap. Joh. v. 53. [col 717. D. Mussip. 1596.]

‡ Sess. 21. Can. 4. [Labbe, Conc. Trid. col. 127. Lut. par. 1667.]

§ L. 12. c. 11. [n. 1. &c. vol. p. 1110. Rom. 1656.]

present at the consultation about the chalice." Why? Because no mention is made of this in the acts, in the letters of the legates, or of the Spanish ambassador to cardinal Borromeo.* It is not to be imagined, "That the emperor wrote to Cardinal Morone, that all former evils did arise from the oppressions attempted by the ecclesiastics against people and princes;" because he found no such matter in the public registers.† As if those records which he had seen must of necessity contain whatsoever was done, or spoken in, or concerning the Council; as if Soave might not know many things concerning the Council which he could not be informed of, who was fifty years more distant: as if he could not have those informations from men, who were eye and ear-witnesses of all that passed, which Pallavicino could by no means attain to, after those persons were gone into the other world.

When two persons write of the same subject, is it a good argument, that whatsoever is said by one of them is false, if it be not also reported by the other? St. Matthew and St. Mark have both written the life of our blessed Saviour; may we not as reasonably conclude, that many things delivered by St. Matthew are false, because they are not to be met with in St. Mark?

2. He misreports many things delivered by Soave, and then cries a lie, when he himself hath made it. He tells us, Soave says, that the words of the Pope's bull for recalling the Council to Trent, were such which plainly expressed the continuation of the Trent Council.‡ But this is plainly to belie Soave, for he hath no such word as continuing, but his words also are to reassume and prosecute it.§ In the next paragraph, speaking of a decree made in the diet, he leaves out the most material passages, and those which alone were pertinent to the matter in hand, and then represents Soave as contradicting himself. If the reader please to consult the place, and compare it with Soave, he will no doubt be surprised if the commonness of misrepresentations from the men of his society do not make the wonder cease.

3. The errors he charges Soave with, are for the greater part

* L. 18. c. 5. n. 4. [vol. 2. p. 465. 1657.]

† L. 23. c. 1. [n. 21. vol. 2. p. 912. Rom. 1657.]

‡ —— Che apertamente esprimevano di continuare il Concilio in Trento.
l. 11. c. 11. n. 4. [vol. 1. p. 927. Rom. 1656.]

§ Oltra che il dire di riassumerlo et proseguirlo.

in matters of no moment. Of that pompous catalogue of 360, more than 200, says Amelot, are so slight, that they are not worth the labour of mentioning.* What matters it, whether a congregation was held the next day after the session, or the next but one? Whether a session was appointed on the 9th of October or on the 11th? Whether the king of France died the 21st or the 31st of March? Whether such a man came to Trent the 14th or the 24th of August? Whether Martinuccio were a monk of the order of St. Basil or of St. Paul the Hermit? Are these things, whether so or so, any thing to the main business? What histories can be justified, if a mistake in things of this nature is sufficient to condemn them? Since none can be found, which do not as much differ one from another in such circumstantial as Father Paul's does from the Vatican records. Yea, may not the Cardinal by the same way of reasoning conclude, that no credit is to be given to St. Luke's History of the first Council at Jerusalem, since persons that have written about it contradict one another in matters as considerable as those before mentioned?

4. His own errors are as numerous as those he pretends in Soave. "I could," says Amelot, "easily find as great a number of faults in his history, as that is, either of real or pretended faults, which he hath reckoned in Friar Paul's.† Nor are his errors only as numerous, but many of them such, which it can hardly be supposed but he himself must know to be errors. He tells us, that Luther and Sleidan convince Soave of a lie, in ascribing the rise of heresy (so he calls Luther's doctrine) to the abuses in selling indulgencies.‡ What Luther says of this matter, I know not; but whosoever will be at the pains to read the first and second pages in his Commentaries, he will plainly see that Sleidan says the very same things concerning it that Soave does.

5. Were Soave's history entirely, in every title true, it would nevertheless have appeared false to Pallavicino, whose sight was so enormously vitiated by the overflowings of his gall. Men usually see things, not as they are in themselves, but as they are discoloured by their own passions and appetites; the

* Quant aux 361 fautes, ou faussetés, que le Cardinal refute, il y en a plus de 200 qui sont si légères, qu'elles ne valoient pas la peine d'en parler.

† Car je pourrois bien en trouver un aussi grand nombre que celui des fautes, vraies ou pretendues, qu'il compte dans l'Histoire de Frà Paolo.

‡ L. 1. c. 3 n. 5. [vol. 1. p. 91. Rom. 1656.]

brightest truth will appear a lie to him who is resolved to have it so ; and so is that man who is resolved to contradict ; who needs no more to make him speak ill of a man (as a Romanist observes of Pallavicino) than that Father Paul speaks well of him, as if he thought it better to renounce common sense, than not to oppose his adversary ; who, as if he had lost his discerning faculty, falls foul upon all he meets with, right or wrong ; and rails at as triumphant a rate, against those errors, which if such, are very harmless ones, as against those that are most pernicious.*

6. Such are Pallavicino's proofs as render his whole work suspected. From whence are they taken ? from memorials and registers locked up in the Vatican library. That they are so indeed, he expects we should believe upon his bare word, which yet will not pass for much among many men of his own Church. But suppose they are, is it a thing granted that all is true that is in the Vatican manuscripts ?

He frequently quotes the Acts of the Council ; the Vatican, it seems, is furnished with plenty of them ; the acts of Paleottus,† of Musottus, of the Bishop of Salamanca, &c. O how thankful would many men be to his Holiness, would he bless the world with the sight of these ! Yea, what would they not willingly give to purchase them ? If then they are such as will abide the test, why are they still kept under lock and key ? Is it not to be suspected that the wares are adulterate, when the merchant will not be persuaded to bring them into the light ? Is the court of Rome so self-denying, as not to publish those things which make for their advantage ? May we not then conclude, that either they are such as will not endure the trial ; or in case they will, that besides what makes for them, they contain those matters also, which make more against them ?

Besides it is a thing known to the world, that the legates in the Council had two sorts of instructions ; one letter was to be shewed to give satisfaction to the bishops and ambassadors ; another ran counter to it, and was to be concealed. And may we not suppose that those letters which the Cardinal so frequently cites, were of that sort only which were to be commu-

* Iste vero summo livore imbutus, omnia ut pessima reprehendit, ac promiscue sive bona sive mala verborum profluvio involvit, atque ut falsa suadere nititur. Aquilin. p. 8. [Antw. 1662.]

† [These *Acta* have been published from a MS. of the Earl of Guilford, by the Rev. J. Mendham, in 1842.]

nicated, which were direct contrary to those that were concealed? What credit then is to be given to his proofs?

For these, and many other reasons (which to avoid tediousness I omit), the Cardinal's counter-history hath not met with that esteem among learned men of the Church of Rome, as was expected; and instead of blasting the reputation of Father Paul's history, hath made it to be more highly valued by many men than it was before.*

CHAP. III.

The Vanity of the pretended Reformation of the Council of Trent.

HAVING given Father Paul his due, I shall now proceed to treat of the reformation made by the Council.

I might premise several general considerations, by which all impartial persons will be abundantly satisfied, that no reformation to purpose could be made by it, viz. such as these:—

1. The Pope and his court were very averse from such a reformation.
2. The Pope by his legates presided in the Council.
3. The proposal of all matters to be treated of was reserved to the legates.
4. The legates in doubtful matters consulted the Pope before they proposed them to be discussed.
5. After matters had been discussed in the congregations, before they were proposed in the session, the legates sent to Rome to know the Pope's pleasure.
6. The bishops of the Council were generally such as were addicted to the Pope; either as they were Italians, or as they were his pensioners, or both. And, therefore, such as would not contradict him, except in such rare cases, in which the Pope's interest and their own could not be reconciled; such as the exemption of regulars, and the divine right of episcopacy.
7. When any considerable opposition was like to be made,

* [The proposition of this section has been further and triumphantly confirmed by Courayer in his masterly French translation, with preface and notes, as well as by the ample collection of Le Plat.]

all arts were used, the most disingenuous not excepted, to bring over the dissenters to the Pope's party.

8. Nothing was proposed in the later sessions to be defined, till they were before secure of a party to carry it that way which the Pope desired. He that considers these things cannot expect any good from this Council.

But passing over all these, I shall at present consider matter of fact only what was done, and what was not done by the Council, which shall be reduced to these three general heads:—

1. That in those matters in which a reformation was most necessary, not the least reformation was made, or so much as pretended.

2. That in those matters in which a mighty reformation was pretended, little or rather none was really made.

3. That instead of reformation the Council produced a greater deformation; what it found bad it left in many respects worse.

SECT. I.

In those Matters in which a Reformation was most necessary, not the least Reformation was made, or so much as pretended.

First, That in those matters in which reformation was most necessary, not the least was made or so much as pretended. And these things were of two sorts; matters of doctrine, and matters of worship. In which, I say, reformation was most necessary, because errors in these are of the most dangerous consequence.

First, That the Romish errors in doctrine were numerous, and many of them in points of the highest moment, I have already shewed,* and therefore shall spare the labour of mentioning them here. That the Protestants with one mind and one mouth demanded a reformation of these especially as absolutely necessary, I need not prove, it being a thing notorious to all men, who have read so much as the Augsburg Confession. Yea, that many errors in doctrine were so gross, that those very Romanists, who (in compliance with their worldly interest) resolved not to reform them, were not able to shut their eyes so close as not to discern them, we may conclude

* Part 1.

from that counsel which the bishops assembled at Bonomia, gave to Pope Julius III. for the establishment of the Roman Church, viz. "The Lutherans receive and confess all the Articles of the Athanasian, Nicene, and Apostles' Creed. The same Lutherans refuse to admit any doctrine, except that only which hath the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles for its authors, and wish that we would imitate the ancient Churches, and not think of receiving any traditions, which it is not more manifest than the noon-day light were dictated and instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ and the Apostles. But we, on the contrary, following the opinion of your Holiness, will have all traditions, constitutions, rules, and ceremonies, which have heretofore, either by the Fathers or Councils, or even by any private man (with a good zeal) been introduced into the Church to be believed, and accounted necessary to salvation. And particularly as to tradition, we entirely believe and confess as a true article of faith, that which the Council of Trent hath determined in the decree of the third session. And although we cannot prove this (for we plainly confess between ourselves, that we cannot prove that which we hold and teach concerning tradition) yet we confess it to be true, because the Roman Church holds it.—But that we may confess the truth (which must be kept as a secret) in the time of the Apostles, and for some years after the Apostles there was no mention of the Papacy or the Cardinalship; much less were there these doctrines, these laws, these customs, no, nor the empire over the nations, that we now obtain. But all ministers of all Churches (of the Roman no less than of others) did voluntarily obey kings, and princes, and magistrates."* And a little after they proceed thus. "Certainly we scarce retain in our Churches so much as a shadow of the doctrine and discipline which flourished in the times of the Apostles, but have brought in another quite different from it."† And in the conclusion they give the Pope this counsel as the most weighty of all. "That he labour with all his might, that as little as possible of the Gospel (especially in the vulgar tongue) may be read in the cities that are under his dominion; that that very little, which is wont to be read

* *Lutherani Symboli Apostolorum, Nicæni et Athanasii Articulos omnes recipiunt, &c. Consil. de stabiliend Rom. Eccles. Vergerii, tom. 1. p. 95, 96. [Tubing. 1563.]*

† *Certe vix umbram quandam retinemus in nostris Ecclesiis ejus Doctrinæ et disciplinæ que Apostolorum temporibus floruerunt, et prorsus aliam accersivimus. [Ib.] p. 97.*

in the mass may be sufficient, and that no mortal man may be permitted to read more of it. For as long," say they, "as men were contented with that little, your affairs succeeded according to your wish, which began to decline to the contrary as soon as men took upon them to read more. In brief, this is the book which hath raised the tempests and storms with which we are tossed. And the truth is, if any man shall diligently consider that book, and shall take a view of those things which are done in our churches ; he will see that there is a vast disagreement between them ; and that our doctrine is not only altogether different from that, but which is more, is often contrary to it."*

This was the confession of Popish bishops, but made in the Pope's ear, and afterwards divulged to the world, by a great bishop of that Church, who a little before was so zealous an advocate for the Romish faith, and so much the Pope's favourite, that he made choice of him before all others, for the legate to reduce the heretics in Germany.

Forty years before this, the cardinals and bishops in the Council of Pisa, not only confessed their errors in doctrine, but decreed a reformation in faith, as well as in manners.† For though, as I said before, that decree was made by them to serve a design, yet the serving of that design was a plain demonstration that such a reformation was judged needful by many of the Roman Church. Add to these, the Emperor, the King of France, and the Duke of Bavaria, who demanded such a reformation from the Trent Council, as was in many points plainly repugnant to the received doctrines of the Roman Church.‡

And was any thing done by the Council in compliance with these confessions and demands ? No, not one of their doctrines was so much as reflected upon, much less condemned. Yea, so far was the Council from making any alteration in doctrine, that the Emperor, with all his authority, could not

* Denique (quod inter omnia consilia, quæ nos dare hoc tempore Beati-tudini tuae possumus, omnium gravissimum ad extremum reservavimus) oculi hic aperiendi sunt, omnibus nervis admittendum erit, ut quam minimum Evangelii poterit (præsertim lingua vulgari), in iis legatur civitatibus, quæ sub tua ditione ac potestate sunt; sufficiatque tantillum illud, quod in Missa legi solet, &c. [Ib.] p. 102. 1.

† Sess. 3. Richer. Hist. Concil. general. 1. 4. parte 1. p. 430. [Colon. 1683.]

‡ Natalis Comes, l. 14. Hist. sui temp. [p. 300. Argent. 1612.] Soave, l. 6. p. 513. p. 527. l. 7. p. 652. [Lond. 1620.]

obtain leave for the Protestants, so much as to propose their doctrine.*

And to make all sure against any such kind of reformation, the Pope provided that his most learned prelates might not come acquainted with any other doctrine, than what their mother (the Church) had taught them: for he prohibited not only the bishops, but the cardinals too, to look into the books of the Lutherans.† And were not they, think you, likely to be equal judges, who were to condemn those doctrines which they were not permitted to examine?

But it is needless to shew that no reformation was in doctrine, since R. H. confesses, that the Tridentine Fathers were unanimous in condemning the Protestant tenets.‡ And that the Pope had no need of the Italian bishops to that purpose, because the whole Council did concur in condemning them.§ Nor did the Fathers so much as pretend to any such reformation, the very notion of reformation being by them limited to so narrow a compass as not to reach it; nor could they extend it further without quitting their claim to infallibility.

Secondly, Nor was any the least reformation made in matters of divine worship; no, not so much as in the language in which it was celebrated, though earnestly desired by the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Poland, the Duke of Bavaria, &c. But notwithstanding the importunity of these great Catholic princes, backed with the most persuasive arguments, in plain contradiction to Scripture, and to the practice of the ancient Church, in defiance to reason, and the common sense of mankind, the Church service was still continued in a language not understood by those that heard it; no, nor many times by those that read it; and an anathema denounced against those who shall dare to say, that "Mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue."|| And could it be expected, that they should reform any abuse in the object or matter of their worship, who would not remove that which defeats its very end, and makes it, instead of a reasonable, a brutish service? especially considering, that it might (as one

* Soave [Lond. 1620.] l. 4. p. 359, 360. Vergerii Secret. Pontif. Actio 1.

† Vergerii secret. Pontif. Act. 3. [Ibid.] p. 77, 78, 82, 83.

‡ Considerations on the Council of Trent. s. 150. § Soave, p. 166.

|| Concil. Trident. Sess. 22. Can. 9. [Labbe, col. 136. Lut. Par. 1667.]

would think) have been done, without the least detriment to any of their worldly interests.

I know that R. H., in his catalogue of those grievances, which, he says, "the Council took into consideration, and rectified what they judged amiss, so far as that iron age would permit,"* mentions the withholding of the cup, as if this had been one of the grievances rectified. That the Council took this into consideration is granted, but it is certain they did not rectify it, and therefore, it seems, judged nothing amiss in it; for had they done so, the obstinacy of the age could not have hindered them from rectifying it: for that iron age, how stubborn soever in other matters, as to this piece of reformation, was so flexible, that, excepting the Spaniards, it generally inclined to it. And yet, after all the consideration the Council had about it, they at length determined, not to determine it, but to refer it entirely to the Pope's judgment.†

Thus we have seen, that no reformation at all was made in those matters, in which a reformation was most necessary, and which, in comparison, were the only things the Protestants demanded a reformation of. For though indeed they made great complaints of corruptions in manners and discipline, yet they withal professed, that they did not look upon these as sufficient ground to break with the Church of Rome. But that their errors in faith, their sacrilege, superstition, and idolatry in worship, were the only grievances that were intolerable, without the redress of which there was no remedy, but they must forsake her communion.

SECT. II.

*In those matters in which a mighty Reformation was pretended,
little or rather none was really made.*

Secondly, It remains then, "that if any reformation was made, it was only in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, and so

* Considerations on the Council of Trent, c. 12. s. 209.

† Hoc decreto sancta synodus refert ad Pontificem Max. sententiam et judicium integrum illorum duorum Articulorum, quos antea propositos nondum discusserat: nimirum, an Consuetudo Catholicæ ecclesiae communicandi laicos, et non confidentes sacerdotes, sub una tantum specie panis, ita sit retinenda, ut nulla ratione Calicis usus cuiquam sit permit- tendus, etc. Decret. super Petit. Conces. Calicis Sess. 22. [Labbe, col. 141. Lut. Par. 1667.]

much of manners as followed thereupon." This is indeed all that the zealous patrons of the Council assert ; yea, all that the Council itself pretended to. And in these matters, if we will believe some Romanists, great things were done. But if we consider the things themselves, we shall find them so little, or rather nothing, that they deserve not the name of reformation. This will, I think, be evident, by considering these five things.

1. The persons who were exempted from the reformation.
2. The corruptions and disorders, which the Council passed over, without taking notice of them.
3. That those abuses the Council took notice of ; for some of them it made no decrees of reformation ; for others, the decrees concerning them, were many of them mere shams and illusions. But,
4. Supposing the Council had extended their decrees to all persons and to all things, that stood in need of being reformed, that they had so framed them as to render them most effectual for obtaining their end, yet they in effect revoked them all again. And,
5. That these things are so notorious, that they are confessed and complained of by the Romanists themselves.

1. The persons who were exempted. To talk of reforming, and not to correct him or them in whom the deformity has its rise, and from whom it descends to others, is as absurd as to talk of curing a disease, without removing its prime cause, which no physician will pretend to, who is not either a knave or a fool. And yet such unskilful or unfaithful physicians were the Fathers of the Trent Council, as will appear, if we consider these two things.

1. That the evils complained of did chiefly, if not wholly, proceed from the Popes themselves.
2. That the Council made no provision for reforming of them.

1. That the Popes themselves were the fountain from which the evils chiefly flowed. For the proof of this (passing over many others as needless) I shall content myself to produce two witnesses, whose authority is beyond exception. The first is the select council of cardinals and other prelates, deputed by Paul III. to acquaint him with the abuses, and what were the best expedients by which they might be reformed ; who presented to him upon oath, that the original of the evils the Church groaned under was, that some Popes (his predecessors)

having itching ears, had heaped up to themselves teachers after their own lusts; not such from whom they might learn what they ought to do, but such by whose art and cunning they might find out a way to make what they listed lawful; so that the will of the Pope (whatsoever it was) might be the rule by which his actions were to be directed. From this fountain, say they, as from the Trojan horse, so many abuses and so grievous diseases have broken into the Church of God, by which it is brought almost to a desperate condition.* This was the voice, not of one single cardinal, but of many united, and of those among them who were thought the most eminent.

But if that authority which is next to infallible be thought too little, let us hear what was the judgment of one of the better sort of Popes in this matter—I mean Adrian VI., who confessed in the diet at Nuremberg, that many things to be abominated had been for some years past in the holy see: abuses in spiritual matters, excesses in commands, and that all things were out of order; that the disease had descended from the head to the members, from the Pope to the other prelates. As for what concerns us, says he to his legate, thou shalt promise that we will use our utmost endeavour that this court, from whence peradventure all this evil did proceed, may be first reformed; that as the corruption hath flowed from thence to all inferiors, so the health and reformation of all may proceed from the same too.† This doubtless is a testimony that no Papalin can refuse. I shall therefore conclude with it, lest by adding more I should seem to derogate from the infallible oracle.

Thus we see that the chief cause of the deformation of the Church was the wound in the head, as James of Paradise expresses it.‡ Which every man will easily grant, who impartially

* Et quoniam Sanctitas tua spiritu Dei erudita (qui, ut inquit Augustinus, loquitur in cordibus nullo verborum strepitu) probe noverat principium horum malorum inde fuisse, quod nonnulli Pontifices tui prædecessores pruriens auribus.—Ita quod voluntas Pontificis, qualiscunque ea fuerit, sit regula qua ejus operationes, et actiones dirigantur; ex quo proculdubio effici, ut quicquid libeat, id etiam liceat. Ex hoc fonte, sancte Pater, tanquam ex equo Trojano, irrupere in Ecclesiam Dei tot abusus et tam gravissimi morbi, quibus nunc conspicimus eam ad desperationem fere salutis laborasse, &c. Richer. l. 4. par. 2. p. 137. [Col. 1683.] Sleidan. Comment. l. 12. [p. 299. Franc. 1610.] Thuani, l. 35.

† Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis, multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, &c. Odaric. Raynald. Tom. 20. Thuan. l. 35.

‡ Et hanc profecto potissimam reor causam deformationis ecclesiæ, quia

considers that of those five Popes who sat during the Council,* there was but one (viz. Marcellus) who was not infamous for vice; and his reign was so short,† that it deserves not to be mentioned.

2. Did the Council make provision for curing this disease in the head? No, the Pope was lord paramount to the Council; too high to be within the reach of its power; so sacred was his person, as to give protection to his vices.

He is indeed in one decree taxed of some misdemeanours,‡ but it is done so civilly, as if they intended to oblige rather than provoke him; for he is not plainly and directly, but covertly only and by consequence accused, by reprehending some abuses in government, which were practised by other bishops as well as himself. To correct which abuses in part, he is in the same decree tied up in the creation of cardinals, to persons so and so qualified; and in a few other matters mentioned by R. W.,§ his power is a little contracted, and the profits of his Court in some things abridged. But that this was done for show only, and not with an intention to bind him, nothing can be more manifest, because they themselves let him loose again, and amply restore to him whatsoever they seemed to have taken from him; so that suppose all the reformation which that author mentions, and much more, had been really decreed, all those decrees would have been defeated by that decree which the Council concluded with, viz. that in all the decrees concerning reformation of manners and ecclesiastical discipline, with what words or clauses soever, made under Paul III., Julius III., Pius IV., it shall be understood that the authority of the Apostolic See is always excepted and reserved.|| Does not this undo all that was done before? And would it not have done so had it been a thousand times more than it is? For

cernitur in capite vulnus, quod necesse habeat ante curari. Jacob. de Paradis. Collect. de Auth. Eccles. [Goldast. Monarch. vol. 2. p. 1570. Franc. 1614.]

* Paul III. Julius III. Marcellus II. Paul IV. Pius IV.

† He died the 20th day of his Popedom, Papir. Masson. in vita ejus.

‡ Sess. 24. cap. 1. [Labbe, vol. 156. Lut. Par. 1667.]

§ Considerat. on the Council of Trent, c. 12.

|| Postremo sancta Synodus omnia et singula sub quibuscunque clausulis et verbis, quae de morum reformatioне, atque Ecclesiastica disciplina tam sub Fel. rec. Paulo III. ac Julio III. quam sub beatissimo Pio IV. Pontificibus max. in hoc sacro Concilio constituta sunt, declarat ita decreta fuisse, ut in his salva semper auctoritas sedis Apostolice et sit, et esse intelligatur. Sess. 25. c. 21. [Labbe, col. 197.]

such is the plenitude of the Pope's power (if either the Pope himself or his creatures may be credited), that it admits of no bounds but what he himself shall please to give it.* So that to say, that in all their decrees the authority of the Apostolic See is preserved, is to say (if the Pope be judge, which the Fathers themselves have made him) that none of their decrees bind him.

To conclude this first consideration. Was the Church likely to be reformed, when no provision was made to reform those from whom the deformity principally proceeded? The darkness cannot be taken from the stars except it be first removed from the sun, nor the sick body be healed as long as bad dispositions remain in the head, which disperses them to all the members, as the Bishop of Segnia† unanswerably argued in the Council, to the great displeasure of the Papalins.‡

2. Let us consider the abuses and disorders which the Council passed over, without taking any notice of them, and that both as to their number and their quality; they being many more, and many of them much more mischievous than those which the Council reflected upon.

First, as to their number; they were many more. Because it would be a tedious work to make a particular recital of all abuses complained of, I therefore refer the reader to those authors and tracts quoted in the margin,§ which if he will have the patience to peruse, and then read over the decrees of the Council, and compare them together, he will be abundantly satisfied concerning the truth of what I now assert.

2. As they were many more, so many of them were in matters of greater moment, and much more mischievous both to Church and State than those which the Council reflected upon. From the beginning to the end of the Council there were no more than twenty-five sessions. Now after the 21st session, one of the most noted bishops in the Council affirmed, that for reformation nothing had been proposed but matters of no moment.|| After the 22nd session, the Archbishop of Prague

* Gerson de Potest. Eccles. Considerat. 12. Dictat. Gregorii VII. &c.

† Not Sidonia, as it is falsely printed in the History of the Council.

‡ Soave, l. 6. p. 533. [Lond. 1620.]

§ Gerson. Declarat. Defect. Viror. Ecclesiast.—Pet. de Alliaco de Reformand. Eccles.—Onus Ecclesiæ.—Centum. Gravam.—Nic. de Clemang. de corrupt. statu Eccles.—Marsil. Patav. Defens. Pacif.—Claud. Espenc. Comment. in 1 Cap. Epist. ad Tit.—Consult. delect. Cardinal. et alior. Prælat. Appellat. Universitat. Paris. advers. Concordat.—Soave's History of the Council of Trent. Du Ranchin's Review, &c. || Soave. Ib. p. 570.

told the assembly of ambassadors that much time was consumed by the Council in doing nothing; that the legates had often promised to handle reformation, and yet they were entertained with speculations or with provision against small abuses; and that it was now time to make an effectual instance that they would begin to handle important matters.* After the decrees of reformation in the 24th session had passed, (which R. H. takes to be the most considerable, and recommends to our perusal above all the rest†) Count Luna, the Spanish ambassador, complained that the principal matters for which the Council was assembled were omitted;‡ so that in the judgment of these great men (who also made a great figure in the Council), the decrees of reformation may not unfitly be compared to those night-birds (to which a Romish writer compares Pallavicino's history of it) which appear great, not because they have much flesh, but many feathers.§

I grant that some of those things mentioned by R. H. are matters of moment.|| But besides that, all of them put together are but few in comparison of those many in which a reformation was needful; so the weightiest of them are but light, if compared with many of those which the Council hath wholly omitted.

When that gentleman undertook to acquaint us with the great reformation the Council made concerning the Pope and Court of Rome, and the clergy, who would not have expected to have heard that the Council had effectually provided that his Holiness should no more take upon him to dispense with all the ancient canons, much less with the divine laws? that it should not be in his power to excommunicate and depose kings and emperors, to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, to raise them in rebellion against their sovereigns, and to usurp and translate kingdoms at his pleasure? Who would not have thought but that his spiritual sword had been taken much shorter, and that he had been wholly deprived of the temporal, (saving only in those narrow territories in which he is prince as well as bishop)? That the weapons of his warfare should be no longer those carnal ones, by which for many ages he has been

* Soave's Hist. of the Council of Trent. Du Ranchin's Review, &c. p. 643.

† Considerations on the Council of Trent. c. 12. s. 206.

‡ Soave, l. 8. ib. p. 802.

§ Cæs. Aquilin. de Trib. Hist. Concil. Trident. p. 49. [Antw. 1662.]

, || Considerations, &c. 12.

a man of blood and slaughter, but that he should be forced to live for the future a little more becoming the vicar of the Prince of Peace ? Who could have imagined but that he had been forbidden, under forfeiture of his triple crown, to share the church revenues between his byblows and his donnaes ; and to transfer the government of the Universal Church from himself to a young gallant, called Cardinal Padrone ? And who would not have expected that some care should have been taken to remove those gross superstitions and abuses which they themselves acknowledged were too frequently practised in the worship of images, and to prevent those shameless cheats that were put upon silly people by counterfeit relics ; and that (if not for conscience, yet for shame at least) the penitentiary tax should have been utterly abolished, and the yearly kine turned out of their fat pastures ? that mercenary whores might no longer brave it in palaces, and, mounted upon their mules, be attended at noon-day by nobles and clergymen through the streets of Rome, (an abomination for which the select council of Paul III. could find no parallel in any other city of the world.)*

These things are no more than what every sober Romanist would have expected should have been done ; and yet not only these, but many more of great importance, were not so much as touched. If then we suppose the best that can be, viz. that the Council effectually provided for the correction of those abuses it thought good to reflect upon ; yet since those which were much more mischievous were wholly neglected, must it not needs be a goodly reformation ? That physician is likely to make an excellent cure, who, in an hectical body, applies himself only to the killing of the itch ; which was the censure generally passed upon the great reformation made in the twenty-first session.† And yet,

3. If we consider those corruptions and abuses the Council took notice of, it will appear they were not in good earnest in that slight reformation they would seem to make ; and that upon this twofold account. 1. Because, as to many of them,

* In hac etiam urbe meretrices ut matronæ incedunt, per Urbem, seu mula vehuntur : quas assectantur de media die nobiles familiares cardinalium clericique. Nulla in urbe videmus hanc corruptionem, præterquam in hac omnium exemplari, habitant etiam insignes ædes. Concil. delect. Card. et alior. Prælat. de emendanda Eccles. An. 1538. [See Sleidan. Comment. lib. 12. p. 304. Franc. 1610.]

† Soave, l. 6. p. 539. [Lond. 1620.]

it passed no decrees to reform them, but referred them to the Pope. 2. For others, concerning which it passed decrees of reformation, many of the decrees are mere shams and illusions.

First, several of those abuses it took notice of, it referred the reformation of them to the Pope. We have before heard that the reformation of the Pope himself, was left to himself; and by consequence, those abuses which were the source of all others. We have likewise seen, that the withholding of the cup, was remitted entirely to his judgment. To which I add the abuses of indulgences (which had given infinite scandal, and were a chief motive to the reformation); the synod desiring that these might be corrected, ordains in the general, “That all wicked gains for the obtaining of them, be utterly abolished.” But for other abuses which proceed from superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or other occasions whatsoever, seeing by reason of the manifold corruptions of places and provinces in which they are committed, they cannot be prohibited in particular, it commands all bishops, that every one of them diligently collect the abuses of his own church, and propose them to the first provincial synod; to the end, that being known by the other bishops also, they may forthwith be presented to the Pope, by whose authority and prudence, that may be determined which is expedient for the Universal Church.”* What a heap of abuses is here at once remitted to his Holiness? for indeed the whole matter of indulgences, as it is usually taught and practised in the Church of Rome, is nothing else but abuse.

2. For other abuses, the reformation of which, the synod took to themselves many of the decrees, by reason of some defect or excess, for want of something that should make them

* *Abusus vero qui in his irrepserunt, et quorum occasione insigne hoc indulgentiarum nomen ab Hæreticis blasphematur, emendatos et correctos cupiens, præsenti decreto generaliter statuit, pravos quæstos omnes pro his consequendis, unde plurima in Christiano populo abusum causa fluxit, omnino abolendos esse: Cæteros vero, qui ex superstitione, ignorantia, irreverentia, aut aliunde quomodocunque provenerunt, cum ob multiplices locorum, et provinciarum, apud quas hi committuntur, corruptelas, commode nequeant specialiter prohiberi, mandat omnibus episcopis, ut diligenter quisque hujusmodi abusus ecclesiae suæ colligat, eosque in prima synodo provinciali referat, ut aliorum quoque episcoporum sententia cogniti, statim ad summum Romanum Pontificem deferantur; cuius auctoritate et prudentia, quod universali ecclesiæ expedit, statuatur.* [Labbe, Conc. Trid. col. 198. Lut. Par. 1667.]

effectual, or by the addition of those salvos, exceptions, and limitations, which defeat their force, are but mere shams and illusions. This is manifest in one decree or other of almost every session, in which anything is decreed concerning reformation: but it may suffice to give a few instances.

Sess. 6. c. 1. The synod ordains, "That if the governor of a patriarchal, metropolitic, or cathedral church, shall be absent six months together from his diocese, without a lawful impediment, and just and reasonable causes, he shall lose the fourth part of the revenue of one year; and if he continue absent six months more, he shall lose another fourth part; and the contumacy increasing, he shall (if a suffragan bishop, by his metropolitan; if a metropolitan, by the senior suffragan) within three months be delated to the Pope, who, by his supreme authority, may punish him, and provide the church of a more profitable pastor."* Now, who that hath but half an eye, doth not see, that this decree is evacuated these three ways? First, by the exception of "just and reasonable causes:" for these will never be wanting when those are judges, whose interest it is not to have residence practised,† unless the Council had determined in particular what those just and reasonable causes were. 2. In that without any cause, and without any forfeiture too, he may be absent six months together, saving a few days; yea, even eleven months, if two or three days of residence be interposed in the right place (viz. about the middle of the sixth month) for he loses nothing, unless he be absent six months together. And, 3. In case he continue contumacious, what is to be done? He is at last to be referred to the Pope; and it might be presumed, that his Holiness would be so kind as to grant a dispensation upon reasonable terms, (for no decree had yet passed for granting one gratis).

It will perhaps be said, that what was wanting in this decree was supplied afterwards, Sess. 23. c. 1. Where the synod to prevent misinterpretation (as if by virtue of this decree, a person might lawfully absent himself five months together) ordains, "That all that have bishoprics (cardinals not excepted) are obliged to personal residence; nor may they be absent from

* Si quis a Patriarchali, Primali, Metropolitana, seu Cathedrali Ecclesia sibi quocunque titulo, causa, nomine seu jure commissa, quacunque ille dignitate, gradu et præminentia præfulgeat, legitimo impedimento, seu justis et rationabilibus causis cessantibus, sex mensibus continuis extra suam Diœcesin morando abfuerit, etc. [Labbe, Conc. Trid. col. 49. Lut. Par. 1667.]

† Soave [l. 6. p. 229. Lond. 1620.]

their churches, except for causes there mentioned, which are to be approved by the Pope, or the metropolitan." And what are those causes? Not only "Christian charity, urgent necessity, and the evident profit of the Church or commonwealth," but "due obedience" also :* so that when the Pope requires it, bishops not only may, but are bound to be absent from their churches, by virtue of that obedience they owe to him. And this is no more than what the Pope often requires of bare bishops; but of cardinals usually, by virtue of their office, which is to be personally assistant to him. So that a cardinal, who holds five or six bishoprics, may, by virtue of this decree, be obliged never to see one of them as long as he lives.

Sess. 7. c. 6. The decree to prevent and annul abusive unions of benefices, is illusory. For first it confirms all those unions, right or wrong, that could plead prescriptions but of forty years, yea, but of twenty-eight; for as the congregation of cardinals interpret that decree, the forty years were to be reckoned from the confirmation of the decrees of the Council,† which was not till twelve years after that decree was made. 2. As for other unions which had been made within that time, those which were obtained by false information shall be declared void; those which have not taken effect, and which shall hereafter be made, if not made for reasonable causes, and with citation of all that were interested before the ordinary, they shall be presumed to be surreptitiously obtained, and therefore shall be of no force, "unless it shall be otherwise declared by the Apostolical See."‡ So that all unions which had not yet taken effect, and which should afterward be made without reasonable causes, or without citation of those which were concerned, shall be valid, if it seem good to the Apostolic See to declare them so. An excellent piece of reformation!

* — Nam cum Christiana charitas, urgens necessitas, debita obedientia, ac evidens ecclesiæ vel Reipublicæ utilitas, aliquos nonnunquam abesse postulent et exigant, decernit eadem sacrosancta Synodus has legitimæ absentiae causas, a beatissimo Romano Pontifice aut a Metropolitano—in Scriptis esse approbandas. [Labbe, Concil. Trid. col. 145. Lut. Par. 1667.]

† Non datur potestas per Concilium Tridentinum examinandi et revindi Uniones, quæ per 40 annos ante Confirmationem Decretorum ejusdem Concilii factæ fuerunt Uniones perpetuae 40 annis, a publicatione Concilii Tridentini computandæ.

‡ Uniones perpetuae a quadraginta annis citra factæ, examinari ab Ordinariis, tanquam a sede Apostolica legatis, possint— nisi aliter a sede Apostolica declaratum fuerit, viribus omnino careant. [Labbe, col. 61. Lut. Par. 1667.]

But to conceal the knavery, R. H. thought it advisable not to make mention of the latter exception.*

Sess. 14. The decrees, ch. 1, 2, 3, are all ineffective for want of express mentioning the Pope, by whom the licences, privileges, and faculties were granted, the exercise of which is by those decrees prohibited.† And ch. 5, the exception in the conclusion is of larger extent than all the remainder.‡

But because R. H. recommends to our consideration above all the rest, the decrees of the twenty-fourth session,§ I shall proceed to them, and (for brevity's sake) passing over those which concern matrimony, shall in a word reflect upon some of the rest.

Chap. 8. "To those which sin publicly, public penance is decreed :" but the decree is void by what follows, viz., " Yet the bishop may change this public penance into another secret, when he shall judge it more expedient."|| Chap. 17. Plurality of benefices is straitly forbidden ; but the foregoing decree, Sess. 7. ch. 5, is not rescinded, which renews the constitution of Gregory X., by which this abuse is established.¶

"The Decree of Cognition of Causes, in the first instance, was quite destroyed," says Soave, "by the exception added, i.e., except those which the Pope will commit, and reserve to himself. For causes were never taken from the lawful tribunals, but by commission and advocation of Popes ; and now the cause of the disease was preserved, and the symptom only cured. And however the adjunct (for urgent and reasonable causes) did seem to moderate the matter well ; yet men of understanding knew, that it was as much as to say, for any arbitrary cause."** And R. H. himself grants almost as much as this amounts to ; for in that he says, "A rescript, after the matter is particularly made known to the Pope, and upon this his hand and seal obtained, cannot be a thing so ordinarily happening as to overthrow the whole benefit of the decree."††

* Considerat. etc. cap. 12. S. 220.

† Soave, l. 4. p. 352. [Lond. 1620.]

‡ [Ib.] p. 353.

§ Considerat. etc. cap. 12. S. 206.

|| Episcopus tamen publicæ hoc poenitentiae genus, in aliud secretum poterit commutare, quando ita magis judicaverit expedire. [Labbe, col. 165.]

¶ Decretal. l. 6. cap. 1. Tit. 16. cap. Ordinarii.

** Soave, l. 8. [Ib.] p. 792.

†† Considerat. etc. cap. 12. S. 212.

He plainly intimates, that it may so often happen, as to overthrow the benefit in a great measure.

But what a ridiculous piece of mockery was the explication of the cause, Proponentibus Legatis, chap. 21. The Emperor's and the King of Spain's ambassadors, had often declared against it (as that which destroyed the liberty of the Council), and earnestly demanded that it might be revoked, but could by no means obtain it ; at length, when they were now putting an end to the Council, they declare, "That the meaning of the synod was, not to change in any part the usual manner of handling matters in General Councils." As if a physician, who could not be prevailed with to do anything for his patient while there was hope of life, should set himself to apply the medicines just when his patient was dying.

By what hath been said, it is sufficiently manifest, that many of the decrees concerning matters to be reformed, were so framed as to defeat themselves.

4. But let us now suppose, that there had been no fraud in the decrees themselves, but that they had been all so composed, as to render them most effectual for obtaining their ends ; that they had been extended to all persons, and to all matters too, that stood in need of reformation : yet, they were all in effect revoked (that is, rendered no further binding than the Pope pleased) these two ways. 1. By reserving to the Pope a power of dispensing with them. 2. By reserving to him the whole power of expounding them.

1. By reserving to the Pope a power of dispensing with them : for nothing was decreed but with this reserve, "saving always the authority of the Apostolic See in all things." This was expressly premised to the decrees of Reformation, Sess. 7.* And lest it be thought not to extend to all the subsequent decrees, to make all sure, in the conclusion of the Council it was again declared (as we have before heard), "That in all the decrees of the Council made under Paul, Julius, and Pius, with what words or clauses soever, it should be understood that the authority of the Apostolic See is excepted and preserved."†

* Eadem Sacrosancta Synodus, eisdem Præsidentibus Legatis, incoptum residentiæ et Reformationis Negotium, ad Dei Laudem et Christianæ Religionis incrementum prosequi intendens, ut sequitur statuendum censuit, salva semper in omnibus sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate. [Ibid. col. 59.]

† Sess. 25. c. 21. [Ib. col. 197.]

And what is meant by the authority of the Apostolic See in this matter, but an authority of dispensing with the canons and decrees, whosoever the Pope shall judge it convenient? Thus it is interpreted by Espensæus,* Richerius,† and other Romish doctors. Thus it was understood by Cardinal Amulius, when he persuaded the Pope to confirm the decrees absolutely: "For that his Holiness might provide for his ministers by dispensation, without violating the decrees of the Council; because in them the Apostolical authority is reserved."‡ But it is needless to produce witnesses for the proof of this, since, as Father Paul says, "Every fool knew what this exception meant."§ And was not this to pull down all they had before built up, as Richerius says,|| or as Du Ranchin expresses it, "To put a gull upon all Christendom."¶

I know Pallavicino tells us (which R. H. lays much weight upon), "That although they may lawfully dispense with these laws, yet the Popes, for their conscience and honour sake, require for the most part such weighty causes, and so rarely happening for doing this, that their concessions in matters prohibited by the Council, do not amount to the twentieth part of those formerly made."**

Methinks the Jesuit speaks faintly. He says not that the Popes always, but for the most part, require such weighty causes; which is a plain concession, that they sometimes not only dispense with these laws, but without any such weighty causes: and if he confess that sometimes, we may then take it for granted that they often do so. But whether the Popes since the Council of Trent have been so tender of their consciences and honour in dispensing with the laws made by it, let some instances determine.

By one decree, expectative graces and secret reservations,†† by another accesses or regresses to ecclesiastical benefices, are forbidden.‡‡ How well those were observed by the Pope, let

* In cap. 1. Epist. ad Tit.

† Hist. Concil. general. l. 4. par. 2. p. 182, 183. [Colon. 1683.]

‡ Soave, p. 815, 816. [Lond. 1620.] § [Ib.] P. 260.

|| Septima Sessione ubi de Reformatione agitur, hoc egregium argumentum omnibus aliis capitibus quæ de disciplina aut Ecclesia emendanda sciscuntur, pro exordio præmittitur; quo quidem Cætera omnia diruuntur et antiquantur, [Richerius Hist. Concil. General.] l. 4. par. 2. p. 182.

¶ Review of the Council of Trent, l. 2. c. 4. n. 26.

** Apparat. ad Hist. c. 10.

†† Sess. 24. c. 19. [Ib. col. 172.] ‡‡ Sess. 25. c. 7. [Ib. col. 189.]

Espensæus inform us, who five years after the Council was ended, makes doleful complaints of these, and many other abuses of a like nature, then practised at the Court of Rome.*

The Council decreed, "That no ecclesiastical person, though a cardinal, should hold two bishoprics, or other ecclesiastical benefices."† And yet, many years after this law came to be in force, one French cardinal had at the same time three of the wealthiest archbishoprics, and six of the richest abbeys; another was possessed at once of twelve abbeys, and one of the fattest bishoprics.‡ And we cannot reasonably suppose, but that his Holiness made as liberal provision for the cardinals of other nations as for those of France. There had need be a weighty cause, indeed, to warrant such enormous and scandalous dispensations as these. But could there be any cause, why "the rich and the great ones should (as Richerius says), without any difficulty obtain from the Court of Rome dispensations for many benefices?"§ Yes, a very weighty one; because the rich and the great were best able to pay for them. But why should the cardinals, notwithstanding this express law to the contrary, hold all sorts of benefices, how incompatible soever, without a dispensation, by virtue of a privilege which they call *Os apertum?*|| (How wide is a cardinal's mouth when opened?) Why, to maintain the pomp and grandeur of the Roman court. And is not that a weighty cause too, and such as rarely happens?

Two other of the most important decrees, are those by which provision is made of fit persons for bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical benefices.¶ And were not these well observed, when six abbeys and one archbishopric were reserved for a child of three years old?** And was not Urban VIII. very scrupulous in dispensing with them, when he gave nothing to those who had best served the Church, but what his nephews had before refused as unworthy of their acceptance? And Innocent X. did as well observe them, when

* Comment. in cap. 1. Epist. ad Tit. p. 483. Edit. Paris. 1619.

† Sess. 24. c. 17. ¶ Richer. l. 4. par. 2. p. 192.

§ Hercl ad corruptelarum cumulum apprime facit, quod Divites et Magnates nullo negotio a curia Romana dispensationes obtinent ad plura Beneficia, p. 193.

|| Et inter alios, Cardinales propter Privilegium, quod os apertum nominant, nulla omnino indigent Dispensatione, ad omnia omnis generis Beneficia quantumvis incompatibilia possidenda, ibid.

¶ Sess. 24. c. 1. &c. 18. [Ib. col. 160, 170.]

** Richer. l. 4. par. 2. p. 192. [Colon. 1683.]

he committed the government of the Universal Church to an imperious and insatiable covetous woman, and bestowed all livings as she was pleased to direct and command.* And Clement X. was no less careful to put them in execution, when all persons of virtue and merit were rejected, and none but a sort of proggling merchants advanced to benefices.†

There is another decree, by which all titles and rights to benefices that were obtained by simony, are made void.‡ And this, no question, was worthily executed by the same Innocent X., when a rate was set upon all benefices, great and small, and they were sold as in a common market by the Lady Olympia; when simony was become so common, that for his cause people began to abhor churchmen, and to hate their ministry.§ And as tender was Clement X. of dispensing with it, when the cardinal nephew would not suffer the seals to pass for any benefices without money paid in consideration thereof to himself (though it was a living of but ten crowns a year), when for the better management of this simoniacial trade, he appointed brokers in the palace to set up an office, and there publicly, and without shame, to bargain and contract for offices and benefices.||

I shall mention one decree more (viz., that which prohibits all bishops to enrich their kindred with the goods of the Church), because in the judgment of the present Pope, the Pope himself is above all others bound to observe it: "For," says he, "there is a much greater and stronger reason why the Roman high priest himself should observe such wholesome constitutions of the Fathers, to the end that he may give an example to other prelates to observe them."¶ But I appeal to all those who have made any inquiry into their lives and actions, whether Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Paul V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent X., Alexander VII., and Clement X., did so observe this decree as to shew that they consulted either their conscience or their honour.

2. But suppose the Council had reserved no such power of dispensing to the Pope, yet they put it into his hands to make void all their decrees, or to transform them as he

* Rycaut, in the Life of Innocent X. † Id. in his Life.

‡ Sess. 24. c. 14. § Rycaut in his Life. || Id.

¶ Longe Major sane, atque vigentior ratio postulare videtur, ut ipse Romanus Pontifex, quem tanquam lucernam ardentem super candelabrum in domo sua posuit Altissimus, tam salubria Patrum Constituta retineat, ut cæteris Antistitibus ad illa Servanda exemplo præluceat.

pleased, by leaving to him alone the power of interpreting them. When the Council was now breaking up, “The declaration and resolution of all doubts, which should happen to arise about the sense of the decrees, was referred to his Holiness :”* and therefore in his bull of confirmation (as the bishop of Bestice advised) he forbade, by his apostolical authority, all persons, both ecclesiastics and laics, of what quality or decree soever, to publish any commentaries, glosses, annotations, or any sort of interpretation of the decrees ; and if any matter seemed to any man obscure, and to need any interpretation and decision, commanded that he should have recourse to the Apostolic See, the mistress of all the faithful. “As for controversies and difficulties, if any arise from the decrees, we reserve them,” saith he, “to be declared and decided by ourselves, as the holy synod hath decreed.”† Thus the meaning of the decrees was by the Council reserved to the Pope, and by the Pope assumed to himself ; in pursuance of which, he forthwith constituted a particular congregation of cardinals, not only for the execution, but for the declaration of them.

Now how easy a matter is it, by adding a little to, or by paring away a little from, by a distinction, a limitation, and I know not how many other arts, which the Pope and his court are well acquainted with, to make a gloss that shall quite overthrow the text !

* Quod si in his recipiendis aliqua difficultas oriatur, aut aliqua incident, quæ Declarationem aut definitionem postulent; præter alia remedia in hoc Concilio instituta, confidit sancta Synodus Beatissimum Romanum Pontificem curaturum, ut vel evocatis, ex illis præsertim provinciis, unde difficultas orta fuerit, iis, quos eidem negotio tractando viderit expedire, vel etiam Concilii generalis celebratione, si necessarium judicaverit, vel commodiore quacunque ratione et visum fuerit, Provinciarum necessitatibus, pro Dei gloria, et Ecclesiæ tranquillitate consulatur. Sess. 25. c. 5. [Labbe, col. 188. Lat. Par. 1667.]

† Ad vitandam præterea perversionem et confusionem quæ oriri posset, si unicuique liceret, prout ei liberet, in decreta Concilii Commentarios et interpretationes suas edere, Apostolica auctoritate inhibemus omnibus tam Ecclesiasticis personis, cuiuscunq; sint ordinis, conditionum et gradus, quam Laicis quoq; honore ac potestate præditis, &c. si cui vero in iis aliiquid obscurius dictum et statutum fuisse eamque ob causum interpretatione aut decisione aliqua egere visum fuerit, ascendat ad locum quem Dominus elegit, ad sedem videlicet Apostolicam omnium Fidelium Magistrum, cuius auctoritatem etiam ipsa Sancta Synodus tam reverenter agnoscit. Nos enim difficultates et controversias, si quæ ex iis decretis ortæ fuerint, nobis declarandas et decidendas, quemadmodum ipsa quoque Sancta Synodus decrevit reservamus. Bulla Super Confirmat. Concilii.

I shall produce one famous instance of this kind. The Council decreed, "That those who had many bishoprics, one of them, which they chose, being retained, they should quit all the rest."* Hear now Pope Paul III.'s interpretation. "He shall quit the rest, but so as to reserve the whole profits to himself, allowing such a pittance to the person to whom he resigns, as may serve in some sort to maintain his dignity : yea, and when the church he quits happens to become void, it shall return to him again, that he may again resign it upon the same terms."† Impudent mockery! "Thus," says Espensæus, "one of the cardinals who lately died, reserved the profits of five bishoprics, and as many abbeys ; the fourth part of the profits only being assigned to the person to whom he resigned."‡

As chemists, in their analysing of bodies, by separating some parts and adding others, by dissolving the former frame and producing new coalitions, are wont to extract those substances out of them that were never formally in them ; so while the Pope has the analysing of the decrees, it is certain there will scarce ever anything be found in them, or extracted from them, that is contrary to his or his court's affections and interests.

This the Bishop of Bestice was well aware of, and therefore, when the Pope's officers dissuaded the confirmation of those decrees which they thought prejudicial to their profit, he, like a better politician, counselled the Pope to confirm them without exception ; because, by his exposition, he might give them a more ample or a more strict sense, yea, and contrary to that which the words do import ; so that if his Holiness ordain that in all doubts men come for exposition to the Apostolic See, no man will be able to make use of the Council to the prejudice of the court. If this were done, he foresaw that by the decrees of the Council, the authority of the Apostolic See, the rights and prerogatives of the Church of Rome, will not only not be diminished, but increased and enlarged.§

* Nemo quacunque etiam dignitate gradu, aut præminentia præfulgens, plures metropolitanas, aut Cathedrales Ecclesias in titulum sive commendam, aut alio quovis nomine, contra Sacrorum Canonum instituta recipere, et simul retinere præsumat. Qui autem plures Ecclesias contra præsentis Decreti tenorem nunc detinent, una quam maluerint detenta, reliquas intra sex menses, si ad liberam sedis Apostolicæ dispositionem pertineant, alias infra annum dimittere teneantur : alioquin ecclesiæ ipsæ, ultimo obtenta dumtaxat excepta, eo ipso vacare censeantur. S. 7. c. 2. [Labbe, col. 60.]

† Espens. Comment. in cap. 1. Epist. ad. Tit. Digress. 2. Richer. l. 4. par. 2. ‡ Ibid. § Soave, l. 8. pp. 816, 817. [Lond. 1620.]

By what hath been said, it is sufficiently evident that the learned Dr. Stillingfleet spake no more evil of the Council than they justly deserved, when he said that their decrees appertaining to reformation were merely delusory, and therefore need not much dread that account which R. H. tells him he must one day give to the Celestial Majesty, for his speaking evil of so sacred an authority.*

I have now shewed, as to those matters in which alone a reformation is pretended—1. That those persons were exempted from it who were the prime causes of the abuses. 2. That those abuses which the Council did not concern themselves about, were as to their number more; as to their nature and quality more mischievous than those which the Council reflected upon. 3. That those abuses the Council took notice of, some of them it made no decrees of reformation about, but referred them wholly to the Pope; others, the decrees to reform them were many of them mere shams and illusions. 4. That supposing the Council had extended their decrees to all persons and to all things that stood in need of being reformed; that they had so framed them as to render them most effectual to the obtaining of their end, yet they in effect revoked them all, both by reserving to the Pope a power of dispensing with them, and by reserving to him alone the power of interpreting them. From whence the conclusion is plainly this, that even in matters of ecclesiastical discipline and of manners (which were the only matters the Council undertook to reform) the reformation was delusory; not in truth and reality, but in word and pretence only, which was the thing to be proved.

Object. If it be objected that this is the accusation of Protestants only, who are enemies to the Council, and therefore in this point not to be credited:

Ans. I answer, first, if it were true that this is the accusation of Protestants only, yet that doth not lessen the force of it; but, secondly, that it is not true, but manifestly false.

1. If it were true that this is the accusation of Protestants only, yet that doth not lessen its force, because the Protestants do not desire to be credited upon their own word, but upon the authority of the evidence they produce; they demand belief, not of what they say, but of what they prove. As therefore our blessed Saviour said to the unbelieving Jews, “If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not, but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works;”† in like manner may the

* Considerat. &c. cap. 7. sect. 124.

† John x. 37, 38.

Protestants say, If we do not sufficiently prove what we assert, believe us not; but if we do, though ye believe not us, yet believe our proofs. And therefore the questions, whether the Protestants be enemies, or whether they be friends, are in this case wholly impertinent; because credit is due to the greatest enemy, in proportion to the proof of what he asserts. But, secondly, that this accusation is preferred against the Council by Protestants only, is not true, but manifestly false, as will appear by the last argument proposed for the proof of the second proposition (which will for ever silence this objection). For consider —

5. So notorious was the cheat, that many great men of the Church of Rome confess it, and cry out against it. Out of those many which offer themselves, I shall select a few witnesses whose authority is unquestionable.

The Emperor, when the twenty-second session was passed, wrote to the Cardinal of Lorrain, that the impossibility of doing good in the Council being palpable, he thought it was the duty of a Christian and wise prince rather to support the present evil with patience, than by curing it to cause a greater.* The King of the Romans, after the twenty-third session, said that it was good to finish the Council, because it did no good, nor gave any hope that it would do.† The Cardinal of Lorrain told the Bishop of Vintimiglia that it was plain, by long experience, that howsoever his Holiness promised many things, yet nothing was executed in Council.‡ Yea, after the same cardinal had been highly caressed by the Pope, and made entirely his creature, when the decrees of the twenty-fourth session (the last save one) were read, he made this protestation, both in his own name and in the name of all the bishops of France: When the day before yesterday I declared my opinion concerning the Articles of Reformation, I premised that I greatly desired that the ancient ecclesiastical discipline might be restored; but since in these most corrupt times and manners I am sensible that those remedies cannot be used that are most needful, I in the meantime assent to and approve the decrees already made; not that I think them sufficient to work an entire cure, but because I hope that these lighter remedies being first used, when the Church can bear those that are more severe, the Popes, and chiefly our most holy Lord Pius, will diligently take care that

* Soave, l. 8. p. 727. [Lond. 1620.]

† Ib. p. 789.

‡ Ib. p. 692.

by supplying those things that are wanting, and finding out more efficacious remedies, he may restore the Church to its ancient soundness.* Du Ferrier, the ambassador of the King of France, thus addressed himself to the Fathers : Give us leave to use the same words which the orators of the Jews formerly used to Haggai, Malachi, and Zechariah, the last prophets : “ Shall we fast and weep yet in the fifth and seventh month ? ” One hundred and fifty years have passed since the most Christian kings have demanded of the Popes a reformation of the ecclesiastical discipline, and notwithstanding this, we must still fast and thirst, not as those Jews in the fifth and seventh month, but now two hundred years complete ; and God grant they be not three hundred, and many more. But they say, as he proceeds, you are abundantly satisfied with so many anathematisms and decisions of doctrine, we confess indeed that if it be right to give one thing in payment for another, when the creditor is unwilling to receive it we are satisfied, but if not, we are still creditors, &c.† A jest was made of the Reformation in France ; and in Germany it was not thought considerable, no not by the Catholics.‡

But let us hear what was the judgment of some of their most learned divines. Espensæus, who was present at the Council under Paul III., could not be persuaded by the Cardinal of Lorrain to go with him again under Pius IV. ; because he certainly presaged from what he had before seen, that nothing would be done in good earnest about reformation.§ The same doctor, speaking of the reformation made by the Council, says that nothing was amended, but all hopes of reformation dashed.||

* Cum nudiustertius meam de Reformationis Articulis dicerem sententiam, præfatus sum etiam me valde cupere, ut prisca illa ecclesiastica restitueretur disciplina ; sed cum his corruptissimis temporibus et moribus intelligam non posse ea, quibus maxime opus est, protinus adhiberi remedia, interim assentiri et probare ea quæ nunc sunt decreta : non quod ea judicem satis esse ad integrum ægrotantis reipublicæ Christianæ curationem : sed quod sperem, his prius levioribus fomentis adhibitis, &c. Rich. l. 4. par 2. pp. 241, 242. [Col. 1683.]

† Liceat, Patres sancti, nobis oratoribus Regis Christianissimi iisdem verbis nunc vobiscum agere, quibus olim egerunt Judæorum oratores cum Aggæo, Malachia, et Zecharia ultimis Prophetis. Num jejunabimus et felimus quinto adhuc et septimo mense ? Siquidem CL. anni elapsi sunt, ex quo Reges nostri petierunt a Pontificibus, ecclesiasticae disciplinae, jam tum labentis, restitutionem, &c. Thuani. l. 35.

‡ Thuani. l. 35. Rich. l. 4. par. 2. [Colon. 1683.]

§ Richer. l. 4. par 2. p. 189. [Col. 1683.]

|| Et tam diuturnorum motuum non alia causa major, quam quod tot

Claudius Sanctius, another Sorbonne doctor, who attended the Cardinal of Lorrain to Trent, in his letter from thence to his colleague Espencæus, highly congratulates his good fortune in that he went not to the Council ; for, says he, I believe it would have been death to you to see those vile arts that are used to hinder reformation.* The complaints of Gentianus Hervetus are so large, that I shall not transcribe them, but refer the reader to his long epistle to the Jesuit Salmeron.† All Christian nations, says Richerius, for more than two hundred years, panted after a reformation ; and at length, instead of one that was true and genuine, they had one that was counterfeit and imaginary.‡ All Christian princes, says he in another place, vehemently desired of the Trent Fathers, that the whole time might be spent in repairing the manners of churchmen, but could never obtain this from the Court of Rome, which gave them only a personated and painted reformation.§ And again, this was the issue and aim of the Trent reformation, that no respect should be had to truth, but to show and outward pomp only ; and that all things should be referred to the splendour and profit of the Roman court.||

If any thing can be thought wanting to add authority to the before-mentioned witnesses, let it be considered that the censure passed by them was sufficiently confirmed by the Pope himself,

annis nihil immutatur; nihil emendatur, et omnis reformandi spes inde
abrupta, p. 480.

* Monsieur, vous ne fustes jamais mieux inspiré que de ne venir point, car je croy que fussiez mort des indignitez qu'on commet par deça, pour obvier à la reformation. Memoires pour le Conc. de Trent, p. 441. [Par. 1654.] † Richer, l. 4. par 2.

‡ Venio ad decreta de morum et disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ reformatio[n]e ; ad quam universæ nationes Christianæ cum animo ardentissimo ab ducentis amplius annis anhelabant : tandem pro vera atque genuina, imaginaria et subventaneam reformatio[n]em habuerunt. [Ib.] p. 181, 182.

§ Quamobrem omnes Christiani principes, atque inter alios Ferdinandus Imperator, sicut etiam Carolus IX. Francie Rex, cum omnibus aliis Catholicis principibus, ardenter flagitabant, a Papa et Tridentinis patribus, ut relicts disputationibus de doctrina quæ a Catholicis minime in dubium revocabantur, totum tempus reparandis moribus ecclesiasticorum potissimum impenderetur. Sed hoc nunquam a curia Romana impetrare potuerunt, quæ quidem pro vera reformatio[n]e, personatam et fucatam nobis exhibuit. [Ib.] p. 240.

|| Hic Tridentinæ reformatio[n]is fuit exitus et scopus, ut nihil ad veritatem, sed in quandam speciem et pompam externam, atque ad privatum Curiæ Romanae splendorem et commodum cuncta referrentur. [Ib.] p. 245 246.

at the same time that the decrees of the Council were, in the oration that he made to the cardinals in full consistory. We are not a little obliged to the Fathers, says he, that in reforming manners and discipline, they have used that moderation and indulgence towards us, that if we ourselves had chosen to take the work upon us, we had certainly used more severity.* If any have conceived an ill opinion of us, as if in those things which respect reformation we would violate the Council, we will, when there shall be need, rather correct by our diligence the moderation used by the Fathers, and supply their defects as a thing reserved to our judgment.† How very little must that reformation be, which he who thought the least too much, acknowledged to be defective? yea, must it not be worse than none, when he who was an abhorror of all was thankful for it, and took himself to be obliged to the Fathers for it? That it was so indeed, I shall presently make appear.

Having already shewed, that, 1. In those things in which a reformation was most necessary, not the least was made, or so much as pretended. 2. In those things, in which a mighty reformation was pretended, the reformation was not real, but sham and mockery. I proceed to shew:

SECT. III.

Instead of reformation, the Council produced a greater deformation: what it found bad, it left in many respects worse.

III. That instead of reformation, the Council produced a greater deformation; and that both in matters of doctrine and of worship, and in matters of discipline too.

1. For matters of faith and worship, it left them worse than it found them, upon a twofold account. 1. By confirming those errors and corruptions that were before. 2. By adding others to them.

* Quibus præterea non mediocriter obnoxii sumus, quod in moribus ac disciplina reformandis, ea moderatione ac indulgentia erga nos usi sunt, ut simaluissemus hanc nos ipsi curam suspicere, corumque arbitratui non committere, plus certe severitatis a nobis fuisse adhibitum. Pallav. l. 24. c. 9. n. 5. [vol. 3. p. 859. Antw. 1670.]

† Potius igitur moderationem limitationemque a patribus usurpatam, nos ubi opus fuerit, diligentia nostra corrigemus, et tanquam rei nostro judicio reservatae supplebimus, ibid.

1. By confirming the errors and corruptions before introduced. That the Fathers made no reformation of these, I have already shewed. I now add, that they undertook the defence of them, made decrees to confirm them, and cursed all those who should dare to oppose them. The Pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, adoration of the host, communicating in one kind, invocation of saints, veneration of images, and of relics, purgatory, indulgences, were all established, and (as much as in them lay) rendered immovable against all assaults. I need not prove this, because it is not only confessed by all, but is by some insisted upon as a mighty argument against the Protestants, that the Fathers were unanimous in condemning their tenets (that is, in condemning all those doctrines that were opposite to the Romish errors) and in asserting the contrary.*

2. Nor did they only support the old, but introduced many new errors in the faith. Those who were read in ecclesiastical story, said, "That in all the Councils held in the Church, from the Apostles' time until then, there were never so many articles decided, as in the sixth session only ; in which," saith the historian, "Aristotle had a great part, by having exactly distinguished all the kinds of causes."† (Thanks to Father Aristoile. One would think his logic and metaphysics, added to the Holy Scriptures, might make them a complete rule, without the addition of unwritten traditions.)

It is true, that some of those points were not then first broached, but had for some time before been commonly taught and received in the Church of Rome ; but none of them were articles of their faith, or any more than disputable points among themselves, before they were defined by the Council. And therefore, in further prosecution of this, I shall do these two things. 1. I shall mention several of their new definitions, some of which are at the best but matters of opinion, others of them palpably false. 2. I shall shew that these new articles, some at the best doubtful, others manifestly false, are by the Council made necessary to be believed in order to salvation.

1. For their new definitions (besides many others which I shall omit) take these following, which I shall, for the greater part, but barely mention.

* R. H. Considerat. &c. S. 152.

† Soave, l. 2. p. 228. [Lond. 1620.]

1. That unwritten traditions are of the same divine authority with the Holy Scriptures.*

2. That the books of Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees, are canonical Scripture.† The contrary to which was Catholic doctrine at Rome itself, but a few years before this Council,‡ and approved by Pope Clement VII.§ I know R. H.,|| and many more Romish writers tell us, that this was defined in the Council of Florence. If it was, this will add but little, either to its antiquity, or to its authority; but that it was, there can be no proof produced, but a spurious article in Caranza's paltry epitome, the least intimation of which is not to be met with in any of the larger editions of the Councils.

3. That by the grace conferred in baptism, all that which hath the true and proper nature of sin, is removed.¶

4. That concupiscence in the regenerate, is not truly and properly sin.**

5. That the works of justified persons are truly meritorious of eternal life, and increase of glory.††

6. That the Catholic Church, from the beginning, hath always observed the manner of confessing to a priest alone in secret.†††

7. That confession to a priest is necessary to salvation, by the law of God. §§

8. That to obtain remission of sins, it is necessary by the law of God to confess all and every mortal sin, which a man can call to remembrance.|||

9. That it is necessary by the divine law, to confess the cir-

* Sess. 4. [col. 26. Lut. Par. 1667.]

† Ibid.

‡ Et quoniam Hieronymum sortiti sumus Regulam, ne erremus in discretione librorum canonicorum; nam quos ille canonicos tradidit, canonicos habemus; et quos ille a canone discrevit, extra canonem habemus. Cajetan. Comment. in cap. ad Heb. vers. 1.

§ Divo Hieronymo, Pater beatissime, universa ecclesia Latina plurimum debet, non solum ob annotatas ab eo in libris veteris ac Novi Test. particulas tum adjecticias tum ambigyas, sed etiam proper discretos ab eodem libros canonicos a non canonicis. Liberavit siquidem nos ab Hebraeorum opprobrio, quod fingamus nobis antiqui canonis libros aut librorum partes quibus ipsi penitus carent. Cajetan Epist. Dedicat. ad Pap. Clement VII. ante Comment. in Libros Hist. V. T. See Bishop Cosin's Scholast. Hist. of the Canon of the Scripture. || C. 11. § 198.

¶ Sess. 5. c. 5. [col. 32. Lut. Par. 1667.]

** Ibid.

†† Sess. 6. Can. 32. [col. 48.]

††† Sess. 14. Can. 6. [col. 104.]

§§ Ibid.

||| Sess. 14. Can. 7. [col. 104.]

cumstances of every mortal sin, which change the nature of the sin.* And is there one in a hundred that knows which are the circumstances that change the kind?

10. That a man conscious of mortal sin, how contrite soever he thinks himself, is not duly prepared for the Eucharist, without preceding confession to a priest.†

11. That the mass is a true and proper sacrifice.‡

12. That Christ by these words, “Do this in remembrance of me,” did institute his Apostles priests, and ordained that they should offer his body and blood.§

13. That the sacrifice of the mass is propitiatory, and ought to be offered for the living and dead; for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities.||

14. That the mystical benedictions, lights, incense, garments, and many other things of like nature used in the mass, are by Apostolical tradition.¶ This is so palpably false, that it hath not the least colour of truth; and this the Trent Fathers knew well enough: for Antonius de Valletelina, a Dominican, told them, “That it was plain by all history, that anciently every Church had her particular ritual of the mass brought in by use, and upon occasion. That the Roman rite hath been (to gratify the Pope) received in many provinces, though the rites of many churches, are still most different from it. That the Roman also hath had great alterations (as will appear to him that readeth the ancient book called *Ordo Romanus*) which have been made not only in ancient times, but even in the latter ages also; and the true Roman rite observed within 300 years, is not that which is now observed by the priests in the city, but that which is retained by the order of St. Dominick. For the vestments, vessels, and other ornaments of the ministers and altars, it appeareth not by books only, but by statutes and pictures, that they are so changed, that if the ancients should return into the world, they would not know them. Therefore he concluded, that to bind all to approve the rites which the Church of Rome useth, might be reprehended, as a condemning of antiquity.”** This discourse displeased the auditory: but the bishop of Five Churches protected the author of it, and said, that he had delivered nothing untruly; and

* Sess. 14. Can. 7. [col. 104.]

† Sess. 13. Can. 11. [col. 89.]

‡ Sess. 22. Can. 1. [col. 135.]

§ Can. 2. [Ibid.]

|| Sess. 22. Can. 3. [Ibid.]

¶ Cap. 5. [col. 134.]

** Soav. 1. 6. pp. 548, 549. [Lond. 1620.]

that he that would condemn the friar as scandalous or rash, did first condemn himself as uncapable of truth.*

15. That not only the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, expressed in the book of Leviticus, hinder or dissolve marriage.†

16. That matrimony confirmed, not consummated, is dissolved by the solemn profession of religion of either party.‡

17. That matrimony contracted by clergymen is made void by their vow.§

18. That the Roman Church is the Catholic Church.|| This will perhaps be true, when the part comes to be equal to the whole.

19. That the Roman Church is the mother of all Churches.¶ If so, the daughter is the mother, and the mother is the daughter. For they themselves acknowledge, that St. Peter erected a church at Antioch, seven years before he went to Rome ; and this church at Antioch was the daughter of that at Jerusalem : and therefore that at Jerusalem, which is the mother of all churches, is at least the grandmother of the Church at Rome.

20. That all things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, by General Councils, and especially by the Council of Trent, are necessary to salvation.** So many contradictions as are involved in this, so many falsities at least are contained in it ; and those are not a few, since nothing is more easy than to produce canons and definitions of such Councils as the Romanists will have to be General, which are manifestly repugnant (not only to Scripture) but one to another.

These are a few of those many new definitions made by the Council of Trent. The greater part of which are most palpable falsifications. The rest were not only disputable points in the Church of Rome before the definitions of the Council ; but some of them are still disputed, others of them stiffly denied by

* Soav. 1. 6. pp. 548, 549. [Lond. 1620.]

† Sess. 24. Can. 3. [col. 154.] ‡ Can. 6. [col. 155.]

§ Can. 9. [Ibid.]

|| Bulla super forma Juramenti Profes. Fidei. [col. 226.]

¶ Ibid. et Sess. 7. Can. 3. [col. 58.] Sess. 14. de Sacramento Extr. Unct. c. 3. [col. 103.] Sess. 22. c. 8. [col. 135.] Sess. 25. in Decreto de cibor. delectu. [col. 198.]

** The 12th Article of Pope Pius IV. Creed, made in pursuance of a Decree of the Trent Council, and comprehensive, as R. H. grants, of 1200 articles, c. 11. Sect. 194.

learned men of that Church. So that were the propositions true, yet the articles of faith are false.

2. These propositions, the best of which are doubtful, the rest manifestly false, are made by the Council so necessary to be believed, that whosoever does not assent to them, is *eo ipso* branded for a heretic, and condemned to the portion of reprobates.

This, one would think, were evident beyond all contradiction, both by the anathema affixed to every canon, and by the declaration of Pope Pius IV. at the end of his new creed, viz. "This is the Catholic faith, without which no man can be saved." Part of which Catholic faith is the belief of all the decrees and canons of the Trent Council.

But R. H. says, "That all the canons in the Council that have anathema affixed, do not enjoin assent under anathema to the contradictory proposition, nor make it an article of faith necessary to be believed under the penalty of being reputed a heretic."* How then shall we know which do? For our resolution, he gives us these rules of Canus: When the decree to which such canon relates, binds to assent with a *firme fide credendum*—*hoc est dogma fidei Catholiceæ*—*Contrarium asserentes (or tenentes) judicentur pro hæreticis*, or some other equivalent expression. Or when the canon runs, *Siquis hoc senserit, anathema sit.*† Since he hath referred us to Canus, let Canus be judge; provided those other words and rules in Canus, which he hath unfaithfully omitted, may be supplied. And,

1. The first rule Canus gives, by which we may know that a decree is *de fide*, is this (which he says is manifest), "If those who assert the contrary are judged to be heretics."‡ Now in the close of the doctrine of penance, and extreme unction, the synod for ever damns and anathematizes those who assert the contrary;§ that is, judges them to be heretics. And, in the conclusion of the doctrine concerning matrimony, the synod decrees the following anathematisms expressly against heretics.|| And therefore by this rule, the contradictory to

* S. 186.

† Ibid.

‡ Prima, et ea quidem manifesta, si contrarium asserentes judicentur pro hæreticis. Locor. Theolog. l. 5. c. 5. qu. 4. [p. 272. Col. Agr. 1605.]

§ Asserentes contrarium perpetuo damnat et anathematizat. Sess. 14. [col. 103.]

|| —— Hos et ipsos hæreticos, eorumque errores decernens anathematismos. [col. 154.]

every one of those propositions which are anathematized in the thirteen canons concerning penitence, the four concerning extreme unction, and the twelve concerning matrimony, is an article of faith necessary to be believed under the penalty of being reputed a heretic. Such, for instance, are these :—

“ That penance, extreme unction, and matrimony, are truly and properly sacraments.

“ That no man can be saved, who does not confess to a priest those circumstances of mortal sin which change the kind.

“ That matrimony confers grace.”

2. It is a decree of faith, when the canon runs in this form : “ If any man thinks this or that, let him be accursed.”* As by this rule the far greater part of the propositions defined by the Council are made no articles of faith ; so those which are made such, are none of the unquestionable verities, but as much disputed as any. For, if I mistake not, this word *senserit* is but twice used by the Council in this matter, viz. sess. 5. chap. 5 : “ This concupiscence which the Apostle sometimes calls sin, the holy synod declares the Catholic Church hath never understood to be called sin, because it is truly and properly sin in the regenerate : but because it proceeds from sin, and inclines to sin. But if any man shall think the contrary, let him be anathema.”† And sess. 25, after the decrees concerning the intercession and invocation of saints, the veneration of images and of reliques, it is added, “ If any man shall teach or think contrary to these decrees, let him be anathema.”‡

However, by this rule, all those propositions are condemned as heretical, which are contrary to those decrees of the twenty-fifth session, and to the latter part of the fifth chapter of the fifth session ; such (among many others) are these :—

“ That concupiscence is truly and properly sin.

“ That it is not repugnant to the word of God to pray to the saints with mental as well as vocal prayer.”

And the contrary to these made necessary points of faith.

3. Another rule laid down by Canus, by which it may be

* *Siquis hoc aut illud senserit, anathema sit. Canus ubi supra.*

† *Hanc concupiscentiam, quam aliquando Apostolus peccatum appellat, sancta synodus declarat Ecclesiam Catholicam nunquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit ; sed quia ex peccato est, et ad peccatum inclinat. Siquis contrarium senserit, anathema sit. [col. 33.]*

‡ *Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit, aut senserit, anathema sit. [col. 176.]*

known, that a decree contains matter of faith necessary to be believed, is this: "If the sentence of excommunication be passed upon those who shall contradict (or speak against it)."^{*} Now, by this rule, not only all those disputable and false propositions before mentioned, but almost all the doctrines defined by the Council, are made articles of faith necessary to be believed: because an anathema is denounced not only against those who shall teach or preach, or in public dispute defend, the contrary propositions, or say that the Church hath erred in defining them; but against those who shall but barely say the contrary to any of them.

And is it not strange that R. H. should overlook this rule? But he is to be excused, because his design was to put a favourable gloss upon this odious part of the Council. Or we may charitably suppose that the sight of so many terrible anathemas, put him into such a fright, that he forgot himself.

4. The first part of the fourth rule teaches that doctrine to be necessary, concerning which it is expressly said, "That it is firmly to be believed by all the faithful."[†] By which rule the whole doctrine of justification, sess. 6, will be found to be *de fide*; because the synod says, "Except a man do faithfully and firmly receive it, he cannot be justified."[‡] And the last clause of this rule is of such latitude (viz. by other like words something be said to be contrary to the Gospel, or the doctrine of the Apostles), that it may be extended to almost all the doctrinal decrees.

There is another note proposed by Canus before these four already mentioned, which is of such large extent, that there are very few, if any, of the definitions of Trent, that will not fall within the compass of it. It is in short this,

5. "The doctrine of Councils, if proposed to the whole Church, if proposed also with an obligation of believing it, is a necessary point of faith."[§] Now I think no doctrine defined

* Tertia est, si in eos qui contradixerint (non contra senserint) Excommunicationis sententia ipso jure feratur. *Ibid.*

† Quarta, si quicquam expresse et proprie a fidelibus firmiter credendum, aut tanquam dogma Fidei Catholice accipendum dicatur, vel aliis similibus verbis aliquid esse Evangelio doctrinæ Apostolorum contrarium, *ibid.* [p. 273.]

‡ — Post hanc Catholicam de justificatione doctrinam, quam nisi quisque fideliter, firmiterque receperit, justificari non potuerit. [col. 44.]

§ Itaque summorum Pontificum, Conciliorumque doctrina, si toti Ecclesiæ proponatur, si cum obligatione etiam credendi proponatur, tum vero de Fidei causa judicium est. [*Ibid.*]

by the Council of Trent is limited to any particular Church ; or that any one can be named, which a Romanist will say, is not proposed to the Church Universal ; in like manner as the Council expressly proposes those of sess. 14, “to be believed and held of all Christians.”* And that the synod intended (what in them lay) to oblige all those to whom they were proposed to believe them, is manifest by those curses it thunders out against all those who shall dare to contradict them.

I think it is now evident, that by Canis’s rules, all the canons of the Council of Trent, in which persons are anathematized, barely for affirming or denying such or such a proposition, do enjoin assent under anathema to the contradictory proposition.

I need not insist upon what R. H. quotes to the same purpose out of Bellarmine ; not only because he himself says, it is much what the same ; but because Bellarmine himself speaks doubtfully of it, and dares not trust to it. For after he has told us what words a Council uses when a decree is proposed as a matter of faith, he concludes, “When they say none of these things, it is not certain that it is a matter of faith.† It is certain it seems, that it is when a Council uses such words ; but it is not certain that it is not when it does not use them.

But be it so ; yet says R. H.,‡ “The contrary to such propositions, the maintainers whereof are anathematized as heretics, is not hereby made by the Council an article of faith, in such a sense.” 1. As if it were made a divine truth now, which was not so formerly. The Council was modest in not assuming to itself a power of making divine truths. But in case they were not divine truths formerly, and by consequence they are not such now (in that the Council did not make those divine truths which were not such formerly) ; did it not arrogate a little too much, in obliging men under a curse to believe them to be divine truths ? Or, 2. As if such divine truth were not also revealed and declared to be so formerly, either in the same expressions, or in its necessary principles. It will not, I suppose, be pretended, as to most of the propositions before mentioned, as false or doubtful, that they were formerly

* *Hæc sunt quæ de Poenitentiæ et Extremæ Unctionis Sacramentis hæc sancta Æcumenica Synodus profitetur et docet, atque omnibus Christi fidelibus credenda et tenenda proponit. [col. 103.]*

† *Quando autem nihil horum dicunt, non est certum, rem esse de Fide. De Concil. 1. 2. c. 12.*

‡ *Cap. 11. § 192.*

declared articles of faith in the same expressions. It will then be well worth the knowing what were those principles, those necessary principles in which those articles were formerly declared, viz. "That the lights, odours, and vestments used in the mass, are of apostolical tradition ; that the Church of Rome is the mother of all Churches." Or 3. As if any such thing were now necessary explicitly to be known, or believed absolutely *ratione medii*, for attaining salvation, which was not so formerly. Then none of the propositions before mentioned are now necessary to be believed *ratione medii*. Or 4. As if there might not be such a sufficient proposal made to us of such a point formerly, as that from this, we had then an obligation to believe it. If there was such a sufficient proposal formerly of all points determined by the Council, how came it to pass, that many of them were not known to be divine truths ; no, not by those persons who could not be ignorant of such a proposal, if any such had been ? I mean the most learned men of that Church ; not those who were suspected to have too much kindness for heresies, viz. Erasmus, Cassander, Wicelius, &c., but the stoutest champions of the Papacy, and those of highest authority in that Church, next to the Pope himself ; such as Cardinal Cajetan, who not long before the Council, taught things plainly contrary to divers of the Trent decrees. Or, 5. As if the ignorance of such point before the definition of a Council, might not be some loss in order to our salvation. Some loss ! A man then it seems might have been saved, who held the contrary, yet so as by fire. That sin, therefore, which was but venial before the definition of the Council, became mortal after it. Another new article, which the Council forgat to define.

But if not in this, nor that, nor the other sense, in what sense at last, after all these limitations and exceptions, are those points made, by the Council's defining them articles of faith ? Why, in no sense ; for they were articles of faith before ; the only difference is, that they were then less necessary, now more necessary to be believed : for "by the Council's defining them, they are made necessary to be believed in some degree of necessity, wherein they were not before."* But till it be proved, that they were necessary to be believed before, by some better argument than barely saying so, we shall hardly be persuaded that they are more necessary to be believed since.

But how comes it to be more necessary now than formerly to believe these new old articles ? "By reason of a more

* R. H. S. 192.

evident proposal of them, when the Council (whose judgment we are bound to believe and submit to) declares them to be divine truths.”* But how come we to be bound to believe and submit to the judgment of the Council of Trent? Was it a Council of the Catholic Church? No, but of the Roman Church only. Does the Church of England owe any subjection to the Church of Rome? No; that Church had never any dominion over her but what was usurped. Had the Church of England any representatives in the Council? No; in the catalogue of bishops, one British bishop is mentioned (viz. Thos. Goduclus [Goldwell], bishop of St. Asaph), but he had no commission from this Church. Have the decrees and canons of the Council been since received by the Church of England? No. Will it not then be a hard matter to prove, that the members of this Church are bound to submit to the judgment of this Council? And yet we shall readily submit to it; 1st, In case it be once proved (which this author supposes, and takes for granted) that this Council was infallible; or, 2dly, Supposing it hath erred (which is most notorious), that it is our duty to assent to its errors as divine truths.

What he says afterwards of the obligation that lies upon us, from the definition of the Church,† is the same thing repeated; because, by the Church, he means no more than the Roman Church assembled at Trent: and therefore the Church of England, in not submitting to her, is no way defective in her duty of obedience, because she owes no obedience to her.

But are not the points themselves defined, such as require our acceptance? Because they are such as are some way profitable to our salvation, some way advantageous to God’s glory, some way conducible to Christian edification, to the peace of the Church, &c.‡ I wish he had told us what way; for it is hard to conceive, that it is any way more profitable to our salvation, to believe with the Council of Trent, that concubiscence is not sin, than to believe with St. Paul that it is.§ That it is any way more advantageous to God’s glory, to believe with the Council, that there is no divine precept for the laity to receive the Eucharist in both kinds,|| than to believe with Pope Gelasius, that it is sacrilege to divide that mystery.¶ That it is any way more conducible to Christian edification, to believe that the books of Maccabees are canonical, than to

* R. H. S. 192.

† R. H. S. 193.

‡ Ibid.

§ Rom. vii. 7.

|| Sess. 21. cap. 1. [col. 126.]

¶ De Consecrat. Dist. 2. c. 12.

believe with Pope Gregory the Great, that they are not.* That it is any way more subservient to the peace of the Church, to believe that the Church of Rome is the mother of all churches, than to believe with the second General Council, that Jerusalem is.†

I shall not insist upon the bull of Pius IV., by which all men are excluded from salvation, who do not assent, not only to all matters defined, and declared by the Council of Trent, "but by other General Councils;" because, what I undertook is already so fully proved, that it needs no additional evidence. It may suffice to make three brief remarks upon R. H.'s discourse in vindication of it, in his four next sections.

1. In that he says, "The clause (*hæc est Fides Catholica extra quam nemo salvus*) is a declaration of the Pope, and can have no more authority than other Papal decrees."‡ Thereby plainly intimating, that a Papal decree is of less authority than that of a General Council. What can be said more absurd, when spoken with respect to the Council of Trent? Since this Council did not only again and again expressly own the Pope for their lord;§ but did also humbly petition him, that he would vouchsafe to confirm their decrees,|| and many other ways acknowledge his superiority over them, as will afterwards more fully appear.

2. He says, "Whatever professions of faith is made in the bull, it concerneth not any person, save those who enter into religious orders, or into some ecclesiastical benefice."¶ It concerns not any save them to make this profession; but the faith professed, so far concerns all, that (if the Pope do not err) no man can be saved without it. And one part of this faith is an assent to all the definitions of the Trent Council: for the words are these: "All other things likewise do I un-

* Greg. Moral. Expos. in Job 1. 19. c. 29. [vol. 1. p. 622. A. Par. 1705.]

† τῆς δὴ μητρὸς ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱερος ολύμποις, Concil. Constantinop. 2. Epist. Episcop. ¶ S. 194.

§ —— Decrexit integrum negotium ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum esse referendum. Decret. Super. Pet. Concess. Calicis Sess. 22. [col. 141.]

|| In decreto de fine Concilii. Quapropter nos Johannes cardinalis Maronius, et Ludovicus cardinalis Simoneta——humiliter petimus nomine dicti Concilii Ecumenici Tridentini, ut sanctitas vestra dignetur confirmare omnia et singula, quæ tam sub fel. rec. Paulo III. et Julio III. quam sub Sanctitate Vestra in eo decreta et definita sunt. Confirmat. Concilii. [col. 219.] ¶ C. 11. Sect. 194.

doubtedly receive and profess, which are delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and General Councils, and especially by the holy Council of Trent." Then it follows, "This true Catholic faith, without which no man can be saved, which at this time I willingly profess," &c.* So that the faith professed concerns every person, as much as his salvation does; though making a profession of it in the solemn form here prescribed, concerns churchmen only.

3. He adds, "These persons are not therein obliged to believe the articles or canons of Trent, in any other sense than that which we have now mentioned."† That is, in any other sense than that which is false; as hath been already shewed in my reflections upon § 192.

And for that clause of the bull (*haec vera Catholica fides extra quam nemo salvus esse potest*) if we take it in that limited sense which R. H. himself contends for, viz., "That no person can be saved, who opposes or denieth assent to any point therein, when sufficiently evidenced to him, to be a definition of the Church;"‡ this absurdity unavoidably follows, viz., that no man to whom it is sufficiently evidenced, that the Councils of Constance§ and Basil,|| defined a General Council to be above the Pope; and the Councils of Florence,¶ and Lateran V.** defined the Pope to be above a General Council: that the sixth General Council declared marriage to be dissolved by heresy,†† and the Council of Trent declared the contrary,‡‡ can be saved, unless he assent to these contradictions, which we confess it would be our duty to do, in case he had once proved that these Councils were all infallible, which he can never attempt, with any success, till he has first proved that both parts of a contradiction may be true.

As a confirmation of his foregoing discourse, he adds in the next section, "That the most, or chiefest of the Protestant

* *Caetera item omnia a sacris canonibus, et oecumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, et declarata indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascunque ab ecclesia damnatas et rejectas et anathematizatas, ego pariter damno, rejicio et anathematizo.* Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, etc. [col. 226.]

† Sect. 195. n. 1.

‡ Ibid.

§ Sess. 4. et 5. [Labbe, Conc. vol. 12. col. 19. 22. Lut. Par. 1672.]

|| Sess. 2. [Ibid. col. 478.]

¶ Sess. 25. [Ibid. vol. 13. col. 498.]

** Sess. 11. [Ibid. col. 286.] †† Can. 72. [vol. 6. col. 1173.]

‡‡ Sess. 24. Can. 5. [col. 154.]

controversies, defined or made *de fide* in the Council of Trent, were made so by former Councils of equal obligation ; or else were contained in the public liturgies of the Catholic Church.”* By former Councils of equal obligation, he can mean no less than General Councils, or such at least as the Church of Rome calls so. Now we freely grant without his asking, that many of the Romish errors, both in doctrine and worship, were defined and made *de fide* by such preceding Councils ; such are those I have before mentioned, not as first defined, but as confirmed by the Council of Trent. So that setting aside all those which were added by Pius IV., and the Trent Fathers, we desire no more to justify the Reformation made before that Council assembled ; but as the Reformation was necessary before, so (to use the words of our author) it became necessary afterward, in “a new degree of necessity,” by reason of those new errors defined by the Council. For how many soever the other Protestant controversies were defined by former Councils, not so much as one of those, I have before instance in, was so defined. There are no more than three of them, that can be supposed to be comprehended in the catalogue R. H. hath given us of the controversies before defined : 1. That of the canon of Scripture ; 2. That of confession to a priest as necessary by the law of God : 3. That of the true and proper sacrifice of the mass.

The first of these, he says, was declared by the Council of Florence : but that is a cheat first imposed upon the world by Caranza, who mentions this in Pope Eugenius’s decree given to the Armenians.”†

2. The great Lateran Council did, I grant, enjoin confession to a priest once a year ; but not from the obligation of any divine law ; that was the invention of the Council of Trent.

3. He could, it seems, find no decree of any foregoing Council for the sacrifice of the mass ; but he has found something else, which he hath put in its room, as if it were of as good authority, though in plain contradiction to what he asserts about half a page after, where he tells us, that the definitions of Councils only require submittance. But what says he for the sacrifice of the mass ? “It is,” he says, “apparent in the liturgies of the Church preceding the

* Sect. 198.

† Summa Concil. p. 872, 874. Edit. Rothomag. 1633.

Council of Trent." Is it so? and so is the story of the Seven Sleepers,* and many more which are fit for nothing, but to move indignation or laughter. And are these all articles of faith too? But if all matters delivered in the liturgies of the Church before the Council of Trent, were matters of faith, how came the Trent Fathers to think it necessary to correct many things in their missal and breviary? And how many articles of faith are now lost, by being left out of the reformed breviary of Pope Pius V., so that how much soever we owe them for their new articles, we are little beholden to them for robbing us of so many old, and those, some of them, very pleasant ones. And yet the loss is the less, because they were such as they themselves were ashamed any longer to own to the world.

And yet, after all, it is to be considered, that a sacrifice is one thing, and a true and proper sacrifice is another. As the Church of England, and, I suppose, every other Protestant Church asserts a sacrifice, so, I fear, no liturgy of the Church of Rome can be produced, preceding the Council of Trent, in which it is called a true and proper sacrifice.

But R. H. will say, what need of proof when this is no more than what seems to be acknowledged by Bishop Bramhall.† It would be hard, if after the Romish artillery is defeated, we should at last be beaten with our own weapons. But let us hear the bishop's words: "These very points," says he, "which Pope Pius IV. comprehended in a new symbol or creed, were obtruded upon us before by his predecessors, as necessary articles of the Roman faith. This is the only difference, that Pius IV. dealt in gross, his predecessors by retail; they fashioned the several rods, and he bound them up into a bundle."‡ And what then? "These points were obtruded upon us before by Pope Pius's predecessors;" therefore they were defined by former General Councils. Where lies the consequence? Were General Councils Pope Pius's predecessors? or were the Popes (his predecessors) General Councils? But be it so, that Popes only, and not Councils, were his predecessors; yet by the help of an (*i. e.*) those rods which were fashioned by Popes were fashioned by Councils too: for they (viz. the Popes) fashioned the rods, *i. e.* in the synods held in the Church before Luther's appearance:§ as if

* Breviarium ad usum Eccles. Sarisburiens.

† S. 198.

‡ Tom. I. Disc. 3. p. 222.

§ R. H. c. 11. S. 198.

the Pope had not authority to make a rod without a synod. Notwithstanding the good service this author has done his Holiness here in England, were he at Rome he would be whipt for his pains with a rod of the Pope's own making, for derogating so much from his authority, in setting a synod above him. And yet, after all, I think no Romanist will be able to produce any General Council before Luther's time, in which any one of those rods I have before mentioned was fashioned by the Pope.

But, “The Protestants who accuse, seem as guilty.”* In that the Protestants seem as guilty, it is confessed that the Council of Trent is really guilty. The Protestants, perhaps, seem as guilty to him; that they but seem so, will easily be made appear; for whatever new definitions the Protestants have made in opposition to the new Romish errors, they do not make them such necessary articles of their faith, as that without the belief of them no man can be saved. There is nothing in all this section, nor in all his tedious discourse upon this subject in another place,† that looks toward the proof of this, except this passage: “As the Roman Church doth anathematize those who affirm the contrary to her articles to be true; so doth the Church of England, in the synod held under King James, 1603, can. 5. excommunicate those that affirm any of her articles to be erroneous.” How unfaithfully is this represented? Does the Church of Rome anathematize those only who affirm the contrary to her articles to be true? Does she not also expressly anathematize those who think the contrary to several of them?‡ and that in points not only denied by Protestants, but by some of her own children? Yea, does she not make all those propositions, articles of her faith necessary to be believed, which are contrary to those propositions to which, in the canons, an anathema is affixed? (as hath been already proved out of Canus, whom our author has made judge of this controversy). Yea, does not he himself tell us again and again, “That any man who denies assent to any point when sufficiently evidenced to him to be a definition of the Church, is guilty of such a sin, which unrepented of ruins salvation?”§ He says, indeed, not because it is in itself, for the matter necessary to be believed, but because it is defined by the Church, which is

* R. H., S. 199.

† Disc. 3. c. 7

‡ Sess. 5. c. 5. [col. 33. Lut. Par. 1667.] Sess. 25. c. 2. [col. 186.]

§ Considerat. S. 192, 194. Disc. 3. S. 81. n. 4, 5, 6.

infallibly assisted. But does not this render the tyranny of the Roman Church so much the more intolerable, unless he also prove that she is in all her definitions so infallibly assisted? Which, if he once do, no Protestant, I presume, will ever again call in question any of her proposals.

But now the Church of England does not require any man to believe that all her decisions, contrary to those of Rome, are necessary points of faith : she censures no man for thinking, but only for speaking or acting ; and not for saying that all her doctrine is not infallibly true, but that any part of it is false : she excommunicates those only who affirm that her articles are erroneous. But now what a wide difference is there, between not saying that they are erroneous, and saying that they are necessary ; ten thousand propositions may be true, which are no necessary points of faith.

This is yet further evident by the subscription required of those who are admitted to holy orders, or to any ecclesiastical benefice. What is it they subscribe to ? That the Book of Common Prayer was composed by men infallibly assisted ? That the Thirty-nine Articles are as necessary as the Apostle's Creed ? No : but, 1. "That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests and deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully be used."* Can a thing be spoken with greater modesty ? In what a different style does the Council of Trent speak of the canon of the mass ? "The sacred canon is so free from all error, that nothing is contained in it that doth not in the highest degree savour of holiness."† 2. "That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion (alloweth only) ; and that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the word of God :"‡ and everything is agreeable to the word of God that is no way contrary to it ; and so are thousands of propositions, which are far enough remote from being articles of faith.

But now in what a lofty strain does the subscription to Pius's creed run ? "All things delivered, defined, and declared by sacred canons, universal Councils, and especially by the Council of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and confess ; and withal I condemn, reject, and accuse all things contrary, and

* Can. 36. Art. 2, 3.

† — Ita ab omni errore purum, ut nihil in eo contineatur, quod non maxime sanctitatem ac pietatem quandam redoleat. Sess. 22. c. 4. [col. 134.]

‡ Ibid.

all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and accursed by the Church. This true Catholic faith, without which no man can be saved, which at present I freely profess, and truly hold, I the same N. do promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to retain and confess entire and inviolate to the last gasp ; and to take care, to the utmost of my power, that it be held, taught, and preached by those that are under me, or such as I shall have charge over in my office.”*

Again, can. 6, of the synod held under Charles I., anno 1640, the form of subscription runs thus : “ I, A. B., do swear that I do approve, and sincerely acknowledge the doctrine and discipline established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation.” Not that all things contained in them are necessary to salvation ; but that all things necessary to salvation are contained in them. By what hath been said it plainly appears, that there are other main differences between the two Churches, in making new definitions, and requiring assent to them, besides those mentioned by R. H.† And it might as easily have been shewed, that those very differences are by him not fairly represented.

I have, I think, sufficiently proved that the Council of Trent, instead of making any reformation in faith and worship, did, on the contrary, not only confirm these corruptions it found, but superadded many to them.

2. Nor did it only cause a greater deformity in faith and worship, but in discipline too. This will be evident by shewing these two things : 1. What corruptions in discipline were strengthened and confirmed by it. 2. What were created, or introduced anew.

1. What corruptions in discipline were strengthened and confirmed by it. Not that I intend a complete enumeration of particulars (that would be too tedious a work), but only to mention some of the greater, and so comprehensive of mischief, that as long as they remain it is in vain to hope for any good reformation in discipline.

1. The Pope’s absolute supremacy, or his superiority over a General Council (which, though a point of doctrine, is the chief point of discipline too). I grant what R. H. says, “ That this passed not from the Council as any decree.”† But if the Council be infallible, is it not the same thing to acknowledge, “ That he hath the administration of the Universal

* Bulla super forma Jurament. Profes. Fidei. [col. 206.]

† § 201.

‡ § 155.

Church," as they expressly do in one of their decrees?* But, suppose there was not a word in any decree that looked this way; is it not enough that their actions loudly declared it? Did they not in all cases consult his Holiness as their oracle? Was anything almost treated of without his direction? Was anything determined without his leave? Did they not submit all their decrees to him, to be either dispensed with, or interpreted to what sense he pleased? Does not the whole conduct of the Council, from the beginning to the end, speak his superiority? Was it not convened, continued, translated, suspended, dissolved by the Pope's command? In a word, did they not in all things behave themselves towards him as their lord and master? And is not a constant tenour of actions a more real owning of his supremacy, than the largest recognition in words only? Does not the representative of the nation more effectually acknowledge the king's sovereignty by coming and going at his command; by acting or suspending their acting, as he directs; by submitting all their resolves to him, and acknowledging, that whatsoever they do is of no force unless confirmed by him, than by barely saying a thousand times over, that he is their sovereign lord?†

But there is no need of reasoning for the proof of this, since Cardinal Pallavicino tells us in one place, "That the fathers of the Council did not so much as call it into question."‡ And in another, "That nine parts of ten were for the Pope's prerogative above a Council."§

2. The exemption of ecclesiastics from the jurisdiction of temporal princes. This immunity, the Council tells us, is by the appointment of God; and therefore decrees and commands, "That the sacred canons, and all General Councils, and other papal constitutions in favour of ecclesiastical persons, and the liberty of the Church (all which by this present decree it renews) ought to be exactly observed by all men."||

Now the immunities of the clergy, which are said to be established by General Councils, and Papal constitutions, are

* Sess. 25. c. 1. de Reformat. General. [col. 186.]

† See Jur. Reflections on Councils, Review of the Council of Trent, l. 4. c. 1. [p. 198. Oxf. 1638.]

‡ De hac autem absoluta Jurisdictione Pontificis tanquam Ecclesiae gubernandæ necessaria, sæpius abunde disseruimus. Neque Concilii Patres id in Controversiam adduxerunt, &c. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 9. c. 16. n. 4. [vol. 2. p. 83. Antv. 1670.]

§ L. 24. c. 14. n. 12. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 897.]

|| Sess. 25. c. 20. [col. 197.]

these, and such like : that they take no oath of allegiance to their prince.* That they be not cited for any crime before any secular judge.† That they pay no manner of taxes without the Pope's leave.‡ In a word, that they are not subject to the king, but the king ought to be subject to them, according to the decretal of the same Pope Innocent III.§ And is not that Church like to be well governed, and kept in excellent order, where so numerous and considerable a body of men as the clergy, owe no subjection to, or dependence upon their prince ?

3. Another great abuse confirmed by this Council is the excommunicating of princes, and depriving them of their dominions. It decrees that the emperor, kings, dukes, princes, marquesses, earls, and all temporal lords, of what title soever, who shall grant a place for duelling in their dominions among Christians, shall, *eo ipso*, be excommunicated and deprived of the jurisdiction and dominion of the city, castle or place, where such a duel was permitted, if they were held in fee from the Church ; but if from others, then they shall escheat to their principal lords.|| All princes whatsoever (sovereigns not excepted) are excommunicated ; all feudatory princes are moreover deprived of the dominion of the place where the duel is fought.

But we shall more fully understand what liberty this Council hath taken to excommunicate princes, if we consult some of those General Councils and Papal constitutions, which in favour of the churchmen it renews and confirms. Pope Boniface VIII. excommunicates, by his decretal, emperors, kings, dukes, counts, barons, and all others, of whatsoever pre-eminence, condition or state, that shall impose any collection, taxes, tenths, &c. upon churchmen, without the Pope's leave ; together with all ecclesiastical persons that shall pay them.¶ Which decree, though as to some intents revoked by Clement V. ** was entirely renewed by Leo X. in the fifth Lateran Council.†† And Clement V., in the room of it, renewed two other decrees more ancient : one of Pope Alexander III., the other of Pope Innocent III. ; which, though in some matters less scandalous,

* Concil. Lateran sub Innocent. III. Can. 43.

† Bulla Pauli III. Idibus Aprilis, 1536. [Bull. Rom. tom. 2. p. 718. Luxem. 1727.]

‡ Concil. Lateran. c. 46.

§ Decret. 1. 1. tit. 33. cap. 6.

|| Sess. 25. cap. 19. [Col. 196. Lut. Par. 1667.]

¶ Decretal. 6. 1. 3. tit. 23. cap. Clericis Laicos.

** Clementin. 1. 5. tit. 17. cap. Quoniam.

†† Sess. 9.

yet, as to the point I am now upon, were in effect the same. That of Innocent was passed in the great Lateran Council, in which were twelve hundred Fathers, and by it, not only consuls and governors of cities, but others also, who shall presume to burden ecclesiastics with tolls, taxes, &c. are excommunicated.* And that the word others extends to kings and princes, we are taught by no less authority than the fifth Lateran Council,† which is another of those which the Council of Trent commands to be observed. Now this Lateran Council having premised that no power is, either by divine or human laws, given to laymen over churchmen, it innovates all the constitutions of foregoing Popes made in favour of ecclesiastical liberty, and enforces all the penalties contained in *Bulla Cœnæ Domini*: and particularly it excommunicates kings and princes who shall impose any taxes upon chuchmen, or receive any from them, though they pay them willingly.‡

I might instance many more, but it is needless in a matter so notorious. The *Bulla Cœnæ Domini*, as it was published by Paul III. (without those additions which have been since made) is itself alone an irrefragible evidence of the judgment of this Council, as to the excommunicating of kings: for in that bull all secular powers are excommunicated, who call any ecclesiastical persons to their tribunals, courts, &c.§ And this bull was published before the convocation of the Trent Council, and twenty-seven years before the decree mentioned was made by the Council, and therefore was confirmed by it: and if any prince stands a year excommunicated, he is judged a schismatic and heretic; and what punishment he is then liable to, I need not tell you.

4. Another gross abuse confirmed by this Council is, giving the Pope the election into bishoprics in foreign dominions. As the form of examination of persons fit to govern the churches in every province, is to be approved by the Pope, so when the examination is finished it is to be reduced into a public instrument, and sent to him, to be examined by four cardinals, and proposed in consistory; that his Holiness, having full knowledge of the whole matter, and of the persons, if by the examination

* Concil. Lat. Sub. Innocent III. Can. 46. [Labbe, Concil. vol. ii. col. 194, 195. Lut. Par. 1671.] Decretal, l. 3. tit. 49. c. 7.

† Sess. 9. ‡ Ibid.

§ Bulla Pauli III. Idib. Apr. 1536. Bullarii Rom. Tom. 2. [p. 718. Luxemb. 1727.]

and inquisition made, they shall be found fit, he may out of them profitably provide for the churches.*

5. The reserving of all such weighty criminal causes of bishops, as deserve deposition and deprivation, to the Pope's cognizance and decision. And if the case be such as it must necessarily be tried out of the Court of Rome, that it be committed to none except such metropolitans and bishops as the Pope shall choose; but that the commission be special, and sealed with the Pope's own seal, and that he never give them any more power than barely to take instruction of matter of fact, and to make the process, which they shall forthwith send to the Pope; the definitive sentence being reserved to his Holiness.† Now as this, and the abuse next foregoing, are both intolerable usurpations upon the rights of princes, so they make the bishops in the whole Christian Church entirely dependent on the Pope; he may set them up and pull them down at his pleasure. And is not the Universal Church likely to be well governed, when all the bishops are at the Pope's beck?

6. The exemptions of monastic orders from the jurisdiction of bishops. This abuse had been complained of long before, as the great bane of ecclesiastical discipline, and the chief cause of the lewd and scandalous lives of the monks; and the reformation of it was demanded of the Council by the emperor's ambassadors.‡ And what did the Council do in order to the removal of this grand abuse? Did they abolish all exemptions already granted, and forbid the granting of any more for the future? No; they ordained indeed that no secular clerk, nor regular, dwelling out of his monastery, should be exempted (if he offended) from being visited, punished, and corrected by the ordinary of the place, as delegate of the Apostolic See.§ That the chapters of cathedrals and other great churches, by no exemptions, customs, oaths, or agreements, should be freed from being visited and corrected by their bishops and other greater prelates, by apostolical authority.|| That the ordinary of the place shall every year, by the apostolical authority, visit all churches, however exempted.¶ That all secular clerks, notwithstanding any exemptions, declarations, customs, oaths, agreements, shall, as often as there is need, be corrected and chastised for their excesses and faults, by the bishops resident

* Sess. 24. cap. 1. [col. 160.]

† Sess. 24. cap. 5. [col. 163.]

‡ Soave, p. 513. [Lond. 1620.]

§ Sess. 6. cap. 3. [col. 49. Lut. Par. 1667.]

|| Sess. 6. c. 4. [col. 50.]

¶ Sess. 7. cap. 8. [col. 61.]

in their churches, as delegates of the Apostolic See.* That the monasteries held *in commendam*, the abbeys, priories, &c. not tied to a regular observance, shall be visited by the bishops as delegates of the Apostolic See.† But for those monasteries and other religious houses in which they are tied to regular observance, the bishops shall provide by paternal admonition, that the superiors observe their regular constitutions, and cause them to be observed by those that are under them ; and if, within six months after admonition, they do not visit and correct them, then the bishops, as delegates of the Apostolic See, may proceed to visitation and correction.

This is (as I take it) the sum of what the Council hath decreed concerning exemptions : in which observe—1. That the bishops have nothing to do with any regulars of what order soever, who do not dwell out of their religious houses, in case their superiors take care that they observe the rules of their order ; by which vast numbers of men are left at liberty to defy the bishops, and to create to them all manner of molestation. 2. In case their superiors neglect their duty, the bishops cannot proceed to visit, till they have first paternally admonished them, and their six months further neglect after such admonition. But, 3. That which I chiefly observe is, that not only no monasteries, whether regular or not regular, but not so much as any churches or chapters, are otherwise subjected to the bishops, than as they are the Pope's delegates ; they act purely by a power derived from him, which he may therefore either revoke or contract at his pleasure. A fine sham ! Are not the bishops highly promoted ? They may now visit and correct churches, chapters, colleges, monasteries, abbeys, priories, provostships : yes, so far and so often as the Pope gives them leave.

We have seen that the Trent Council was so far from making any real reformation in discipline, that it not only took no effectual course for the removal of any abuse, but on the contrary, confirmed many ; and those such as were of all others most pregnant with mischief. And yet this is not the worst ; for as it confirmed the old, so

2. It introduced many new errors in matters of discipline (as well as doctrine), by which the Pope's tyranny was enlarged and advanced to a higher pitch than ever ; several of

* Sess. 14. cap. 4. [col. 108.]

† Sess. 21. cap. 8. [col. 131.]

which have been already mentioned, and therefore I shall not now enlarge upon them. As,

1. The decree of *Proponentibus Legatis*, passed in the first session under Pius,* that nothing should be proposed to be treated of in Council, but by the Pope's legates: a privilege never granted to any Pope by any foregoing Council.

2. The making of all their decrees with the reservation of the Pope's authority,† (as has been before shewed.) Another new prerogative conferred on his Holiness.

3. The giving the Pope a power to expound their decrees (as we have also before heard), in case any difficulty arise about the sense of them, or a necessity of declaration,‡ which was never granted by any former Council. They might as well have left it to him to make them, as they in effect did, for nothing was decreed without first asking his leave.

4. The imposing on provincial and diocesan synods an oath of true obedience to the Pope,§ another new piece of tyranny; for though the bishops, at their consecration, formerly took an oath of fidelity to him, yet never before was any oath imposed upon them, when met together in provincial and diocesan synods.

5. Usurping the rights of bishops, by making them the Pope's delegates in matters which belong to their ordinary jurisdiction.|| Whereas anciently every bishop governed his own diocese, without dependence upon, or subordination to the Pope; by the laws of Trent, they can do almost nothing, unless by delegation from him. May bishops provide vicars to supply the room of such clergymen as are dispensed with for non-residence, and assign them a competent salary out of the fruits? Not by their own authority, but as they are delegates of the Apostolic See.¶ May they depute assistants to unlearned and ignorant parish priests? They may, as delegates of the Apostolic See.** May they take upon them to examine a notary, and if they find him unfit, forbid him the exercise of his office in ecclesiastical matters? Yes, but as delegates of the

* Sess. 17. [col. 120.]

† Sess. 7. [col. 56.] et Sess. 25. cap. 21. [col. 197.]

‡ Sess. 25. [col. 186, 199.] § Sess. 25. cap. 2. [col. 186.]

|| Episcoporum potestas non solum non aucta, sed ex ea multum delibatum est; cum ea potestas quæ ipsorum propria est, et ex Dei instituto iis attributa, iis tanquam a sede Apostolica delegatis concedatur. Thuan. l. 6. c. 2. Review of the Council of Trent, l. 6. c. 2. [p. 306. Oxf. 1638.]

¶ Sess. 6. cap. 2. [col. 49.]

** Sess. 21. cap. 6. [col. 139.]

Apostolic See.* But surely in matters which belong to visitation and the correction of manners, the bishops may of themselves ordain and execute those things which they judge necessary for the good of their people, and for the profit of the church: no, but only as delegates of the Apostolic See.† This is the enlargement of the bishops' power which R. H. so much boasts of.‡

Many more instances of like nature might be produced, but these may suffice to shew how palpably untrue that assertion of Pallavicino's is, viz. that there is not so much as one syllable in this Council for any new emolument to the Pope.§ And how unjustly the same cardinal charges Soave with falsity for saying, that this Council hath so established the Pope's power, that it was never so great nor so solidly founded.|| And likewise, that R. H. had as little reason to carp at a like passage of Dr. Stillingfleet's, viz. that which was intended to clip the wings of the Court of Rome, had confirmed and advanced the interest of it.¶ For as all those degrees, that might otherwise have retrenched their exorbitances, were themselves so clipped by exceptions or restrictions, or by some other counter decree, that they could effect nothing; so many other decrees were made, by which the interest of the Pope and his court were highly promoted; particularly this last mentioned, of deriving all jurisdiction from the Pope, by making all other bishops his vicars and commissaries. And therefore no wonder that his Holiness was transported with joy, and gave immortal thanks, that the Council had such an happy issue.** For (to use the words of Du Ranchin) you shall never read of any Council that was so much to the Pope's honour and good liking as this. Amongst so many bulls and constitutions which have come forth since, you shall scarce find any which doth not make mention of this Council, which doth not name it with honour, which doth not express an earnest desire of the observation of it, and which doth not in some sort confirm it. Among all the Councils that ever were, none can compare with this for reverence and respect. It hath quite defaced and extinguished the memory of all the rest. It is their minion, their favourite, their champion, their arsenal, their bulwark, their protector, their creature; and good reason why they should make so much of it.††

* Sess. 22. cap. 10. [col. 140.] † Sess. 24. cap. 10. [col. 165.]

‡ Considerations on the Council of Trent, c. 12. s. 211.

§ In hoc concilio ne una quidem conspicitur syllaba pro novo Pontificis emolumento. Apparat. ad Hist. c. 10. n. 3. [vol. 1. p. 37. Antw. 1670.]

|| Ibid.

¶ Considerat. c. 12. s. 103.

** Pallav. 1. 24. c. 9. n. 5. [vol. 3. p. 859. ibid.]

†† Review of the Council of Trent, I. 1. c. 1. [p. 3. Oxf. 1638.]

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME WHEN THE REFORMATION BEGAN, AS IT APPEARS BY THE ADVICES GIVEN TO PAUL III. AND JULIUS III. BY CREATURES OF THEIR OWN. WITH A PREFACE LEADING TO THE MATTER OF THE BOOK.

THE PREFACE.

THE opposition that Luther made to indulgences at first, and soon after to other abuses in the Roman Church, awakened many to inquire into the reasons of several things in which they had hitherto acquiesced, without particular examination : which liberty, so dangerous to the interest of the Roman See, soon brought upon Luther, who was so notable an example of it, no little trouble from thence ; insomuch that he found himself constrained to appeal to a General Council : an expedient no less hated by the Court of Rome, which had not yet forgotten the Councils of Constance and Basil, than it was generally desired by all the better sort of men, as before for the reforming of abuses, so now for the quieting of controversies in religion.

Leo the Tenth being dead, who had not been wanting, for his part, to suppress these beginnings of a new inquisition into the authority of Popes, was succeeded by Adrian VI. about four years after Luther's declaration. Adrian, like an honest man, ingenuously confessed that this distress was justly come upon the Holy See, as a punishment of those abominations that had been committed in it, and promised to the world a reformation. But the German princes insisted to have a Free and General Council called, which was by no means well taken by the Court of Rome. Whereupon the secular princes sent their manifesto to the Pope of the *Centum Gravamina*, or the hundred grievances which they had suffered from that Court. But Adrian died (not without vehement suspicion of foul play) before he had sat two years in the chair, and with him died almost all that was honest and good in the Roman Court.

Clement VII. comes next to the Papacy, who of all things could not endure the thoughts of a General Council, in times wherein he was sure the Pope's authority would be called in

question : he therefore laboured against it with all imaginable industry and artifice. But it being impossible to satisfy those that had not yet openly withdrawn themselves from the obedience of that See, without seeming to condescend to the general desire of Christendom in this matter, he tried at length to pacify them, by making promises of calling a Council, which it was plain to wise men he never intended to perform ; since at first he would neither say whither nor when it should be held ; and at length, when the emperor pressed hard upon him, he absolutely insisted that the Council might be held in Italy : a condition which, as things then stood, he was sure would not be submitted to.

Then comes Paul III., as great a dissembler as ever lived, who knew no less than his predecessors how fatal such a Council as was desired must necessarily be to the gentlemen of the Roman See. He found that it was but more passionately desired for being refused, and was indeed put to the utmost stretch of his talent to keep a temper in so difficult a case ; but being the fittest person in the world to do what was possible in this nice juncture, he put off, for some time, the induction of a Council, under the pretence of an earnest desire to call one ; but when that artifice was stale, he delayed the opening of it after it was called : and when nothing else would do, he knew the best ways how to manage and govern it, and to make the world believe all the while that it was unconstrained and free.

But in the third year of his Popedom, the clamour of the world being upon him for neither calling a Council, nor so much as performing his promise of reforming the court and the Church himself, he was forced to make some notable semblance of the latter, that he might a little longer keep off the former. To this end he required four cardinals, and five other prelates, to draw up, in the most impartial manner, a formal catalogue of abuses that needed a reformation ; which accordingly was done in the former of the two following advices that are here published.

The trick was to make the Christian princes believe that he that required, and they who gave this advice, were in good earnest ; and so it was sent into Germany, where it produced quite other effects than were hoped from it, for all men's mouths were opened against the court more than they were before : and the court soon shewed that this solemn advice was but mere artifice and collusion to amuse the world, and to keep off the so much dreaded Council as long as it was possible. As

for the Pope himself, how well he was disposed to follow the rules of this advice, appeared by the whole course of things afterwards: for his business all along was to support the absoluteness of the Roman See, and to maintain that all judgment in matters of religion ought to be referred to the Apostolic See; and that divine and human laws, and the consent of ages, had given to the Pope the supreme authority, as of calling Councils, so of determining and ordering things that regard the unity and advantage of the Church: * as he told the emperor roundly in a letter to him about seven years after.

As for the courtiers that gave the advice, one of them was the Theatine cardinal, John Peter Caraffa, who was eighteen years afterwards Pope, by the name of Paul IV., and who therefore had it in his power to put the counsel he gave to Paul III. into execution, if any such thing had been in his mind. But nothing could be more inconsistent with his counsel than his practice was: the advice acknowledged, that the unbounded licentiousness of Popes in breaking laws, and doing whatever they had a mind to do, had reduced Christendom to its deplorable condition. But this man yielded not to any of his predecessors in pride and lawless liberty; he vouchsafed not to allow secular princes fit to be his companions; he began his Papacy with breaking the oath of capitulation usually made in the conclave, and upon that occasion declared it to be an article of faith, that the Pope could not be bound: he made himself so odious to the world, and especially to the citizens of Rome, by perfidiousness and oppression, that the rage of the people against his name and family could not be appeased, but by doing the most public disgraces to him after he was dead.

Now whether Paul IV., when cardinal, gave some good advice for fashion's sake, or having had some good purposes once, laid them all aside when he came to be Pope, I shall not dispute: but it is a plain case that these men have confessed most horrible scandals against themselves, and that at a time when their obligations to reform them were the greatest that the world could lay upon them, they moved not one step towards a reformation in good earnest, but made it their business to baffle the desires and hopes of all good men; which shewed it to be the vainest thing imaginable to expect afterwards any reformation by a Council under the influence of the

* Padr. Paol. Aug. 5. according to some copies, Aug. 24. 1544.

Roman court ; which, by their own confession, was guilty of all the disorders of the Church ; or of such Popes as these, who by their own confession had been the chiefest malefactors. The decrees of an Italian Council, under the direction of such managers as these, were not likely to be very holy ones. Nor were matters of doctrine in a fair way to be sincerely deliberated upon and determined truly by those who could not be brought to mend the most notorious faults they confessed against themselves ; not such points of doctrine, to be sure, as served to support those abuses in practice which they were resolved not to reform.

Certainly there could be no other reason to imagine that the grace of the Holy Ghost should be present with such a Council, excepting this only, that the managers were brought to it with as much difficulty as if they had been sure to meet the Holy Ghost there.

The bull for intimation of the Council was not published till five years after the advice ; nor was it resolved that they would begin till two years after that, when the Pope furnished his legates with powers to dissolve it, if it should not be an obedient Council.* For no man could certainly say with what dispositions, or in what numbers, the German, French, and Spanish bishops might come, and it was good to provide against the worst. It was yet about a year before the Council was opened, and the proceedings were then retarded by artificial difficulties as well as accidental ones, and with all the management, it did not thoroughly please ; and so, after frivolous pretences, was, in two year's time, by a majority of votes, translated to Bolonia, the Imperialists remaining still in Trent. The Papalins must have it nearer home, that they might tend it the better. But do what they could, they were obliged three years after to reassume it at Trent, the loss of which point was therefore to be supplied with other arts.

Pope Paul dying at this time, was succeeded by Julius III., who thought fit to suspend the Council for two years, the effect of which was that it came not together till ten years after. As for the motives that influenced these counsels, and the artifices that brought them to effect, and the intrigues with princes, and the advantages which the court made of their opposite interests, for bringing the Council to a good end—all this is to be seen in Father Paul's History ; but the particulars are too many to be touched here.

* History of the Council of Trent, p. 112.

It was to Julius III. that the three bishops at Bononia addressed the Second Advice, as Vergerius relates this matter, who best knew it; not to Paul the Third, as Wolfius delivers in his *Lectiones Memorabiles*, who, though he quoted Vergerius, had lighted upon a false copy, in which that passage at the end of the Advice, concerning our Queen Mary, was left out, which would have discovered that mistake of his, from whomsoever he had it, that it was found in the palace after the death of Paul III. Certainly the discovery of this Advice was the most fatal thing that ever happened to the reputation of the Roman cause. And if it had not been upon the file against them now for above an hundred years, I make no question but the Popish gentlemen of this age would run it down for a sham Advice, forged by Vergerius, or some other heretic, against the Church of Rome.*

The difference between that Advice of Nine to Paul, and this of Three to Julius, is in some respects very considerable; particularly in this, that the Nine seemed to be serious and were not; the Three were serious and seemed not to be so; which makes the Advice of the former look like sincerity, and that of the latter to look like wit; whereas, in truth, the one was very gravely given, without any intention to have it followed; the other with that pleasantness and confidence that uses to be amongst friends, but with design of executing what was advised. But in this they agree, that as the Advice of the Nine represents the corrupt practices of the Roman communion, with the main reasons thereof, so that of the Three truly shews what kind of faith theirs is, and how it is to be supported.

Neither the one nor the other, that I know of, have yet had their turn in English; but they are so very instructing, especially the latter, that I thought a few hours spent in translating them into our language, would not be thrown away.

They are so plain that they need no comment, and the use that is to be made of them is so ready, that I need not make any inference from them in behalf of the meanest reader. Only it seemed reasonable to give some short account of the circumstances of the times in which these things were done, which is all the light that was requisite for those who may be strangers to the history of these affairs.

* [There is strong reason to believe that this was a pasquinade of P. P. Vergerio, however just as a picture. See Mendham's Index, &c. by Greg. xvi. pp. 75—83.]

THE ADVICE GIVEN TO POPE PAUL THE THIRD BY FOUR CARDINALS, AND FIVE OTHER PRELATES, WHOSE NAMES ARE UNDERWRITTEN, IN ORDER TO THE AMENDMENT OF THE STATE OF THE CHURCH.

MOST BLESSED FATHER, we are so unable to express what mighty thanks the whole body of the Church is bound to pay to Almighty God, who has in these times raised up you to be the supreme bishop and pastor of his flock, and gives you likewise that mind which you have, that we have no hope so much as to conceive how great they are. For that spirit of God, by which, as the prophet speaks, the heavens are made firm, has decreed, as we cannot but see, by your hand to support the Church, now that she is not only leaning, but just falling headlong into ruin ; nay, to advance her to her ancient eminence, and to restore her to her former beauty.

It is no uncertain conjecture of this purpose of God, which we are enabled to make, whom your Holiness called to you and required, that without any regard had to you, or to any one else, we should signify to you what those abuses are, and most grievous distempers wherewith the Church of God, and especially the court of Rome, has for a long time been affected, whereby also it has come to pass, that these pestilent diseases growing to their height by little and little, the Church, as we see, is upon the very brink of ruin. And because your Holiness (being taught by the Divine Spirit, who, as St. Austin says, does without noise of words speak in the heart) very well understands this to be the original of these mischiefs : that some Popes your predecessors, having itching ears, as says the Apostle Paul, heaped up teachers after their own lusts, not to learn from them what they ought to do, but that they should take pains and employ their wit to find out ways how it might be lawful for them to do what they pleased : to which we may add, that as the shadow follows the body, so flattery follows greatness, and truth can hardly find any way to the ears of princes : hence it has come to pass, that there have been doctors ever ready to maintain, that all benefices being the Pope's, and the lord having a right to sell what is his own, it must necessarily follow,

that the Pope is not capable of the guilt of simony ; insomuch, that the Pope's will and pleasure, whatever it be, must needs be the rule for all that he does : which doubtless would end in believing every thing lawful that he had a mind to do.

From this source, as from the Trojan horse, those so many abuses, and such mortal diseases, have broken forth into the Church of God, which have reduced her as we see, almost to a state of desperation ; the fame of these things having come to the ears even of infidels, (let your Holiness believe us speaking what we know) who deny Christianity more for this than for anything else : so that through ourselves, we must needs say through ourselves, the name of Christ is blasphemed amongst the nations. As for you, most holy Father, for so in truth you are, besides that prudence which you so long since have obtained, being also instructed by the spirit of God, when you gave yourself wholly to his care, that the Church of Christ wherewith you are entrusted, might be healed of her distempers, and recover a good state of health, you saw, and you saw aright, that where the disease grew at first, there the remedy must begin. And following the example of the Apostle Paul, you intended to be a dispenser and not a lord, but to be found faithful in the Lord, like that servant in the Gospel, whom the lord set over his family, to give them their food in their season ; and in order to this you resolved at no hand to will that which is unlawful, nor to desire the power of doing what you ought not. For these reasons you called us to yourself, who, how unqualified soever we may be, in point of skill, for so weighty an affair, do not yet want a good affection towards the honour and glory of your Holiness, and above all to the reformation of the Church of Christ. You enjoined us with most serious expressions, that we should go and bring together all those abuses, and lay them before you, protesting, that if we proceeded herein negligently and unfaithfully, the account that should be given to Almighty God of this matter committed to our trust, should be upon ourselves. And that all things might be more freely handled by us, and opened to you afterward, you bound us by an oath, and under the penalty of excommunication, that we should discover no part of this our trust to any one whatsoever.

We therefore in obedience to your command, have brought together those distempers, in as few words as may be, and their remedies, the most effectual, at least which we for our part could think upon. And now we rely upon your goodness and wisdom to mend all those faults, and supply all those defects of the per-

formance which are left in it, by reason of our incompetency for this undertaking.

But to reduce all our thoughts to some certain heads ; since your Holiness is both the prince of these provinces, which are the ecclesiastic estate and territory, and withal the governor of the Universal Church, and likewise the bishop of Rome ; we have not taken upon ourselves to speak of those things which concern that principality, which by your prudence is so excellently governed as we see. We will touch upon these matters only that belong to the office of the universal pastor, and some also that are proper to the Roman bishop.

First of all then, we think, most blessed Father, according to what Aristotle says in his “*Politics*;” that as in every other commonwealth, so in the ecclesiastical government of the Church of Christ, it should be esteemed the principal law of all, that laws should be observed as much as is possible ; and that it be not lawful to dispense with the laws, but for a cause urgent and necessary. For no custom introduced into a commonwealth, can be more pernicious than in observance of laws, which our ancestors thought were religiously to be kept, and doubted not to call their authority veritable and divine. All these things you know, most excellent Pope ; you have read them long since in the philosophers and divines. But one thing there is of moment next to this, or rather of far greater consequence, as we think, that it is not lawful for the Pope, who is Christ’s vicar, to make any gain to himself of the use of the keys, of the power of the keys we say, which Christ hath committed to him. For this is the commandment of Christ : “*Freely ye have received, freely give.*” These things being in the first place provided for, since your Holiness has the care of Christ’s Church upon you, so that it may be furnished with divers ministers, by whom that trust is to be discharged, and that these are all the clergy to whom divine service is committed, the presbyters especially, and those of them chiefly that have the care of souls, and above all the bishops ; it follows that in order to a right proceeding in this government, the first care that is to be taken is, that these ministers be such that are fit for the duties of their function.

And here the first abuse in this kind is, that in the ordination of clerks, especially of presbyters, no manner of care and diligence is used, but everywhere the most uneducated youths, of the vilest parentage, set out with nothing but evil manners, are admitted to holy orders, even to priesthood itself, though

that be the character which expresseth Christ more than all others. From hence grow innumerable scandals, from hence comes the contempt of the ecclesiastic order, and hence it is, that the reverence of God's worship is not only diminished, but well nigh extinguished. We think therefore the best way would be, for your Holiness to appoint two or three prelates of learning and probity to look after this matter, who should govern the ordinations of clergymen, and then to enjoin all bishops, under the penalty of censures, to take the like care in their dioceses. Nor should your Holiness suffer any to be ordained, but by his own bishop, or with the licence of his bishop, or such as are deputed in the city. And every bishop should provide a master in his church, for the instruction of the inferior orders of the clergy, in good learning and good manners, as the law requires.

Another abuse of a most grievous nature, is in the collation of ecclesiastical benefices, especially with cure of souls, and above all of bishopries ; the manner having been, that good provision is made for those who have the benefices, but for the flock of Christ and the Church none at all. In bestowing therefore these benefices with care, and chiefly bishopries, it is highly requisite, that they be conferred upon good and learned men, who are able by themselves to discharge the duties belonging thereto ; and who withal are most likely to be resident ; for which reason, a benefice in Spain or Britain is not to be given to an Italian, nor the like ; which rule is to be observed both in collations, when a vacancy happens by the decease of the incumbent, and in sessions too ; whereas now no regard is had to anything else, but the will and advantage of him that resigns : we think therefore it would be very well, if one or more honest men were appointed to govern this business. Another abuse is, when benefices are conferred or resigned to others, that pensions are to be paid out of the revenues ; nay, and sometimes he that resigns, reserves all the profits to himself. In which matter it is to be observed, that pensions ought not to be allotted upon any other account, but as certain alms which should go for pious uses, and for the relief of the poor. For the revenues are annexed to the benefice, as the body to the mind : so that of their own nature they belong to him that has the benefice, that according to his rank he may live honestly upon them, and be able to bear the charge of divine service, and to repair the church, and the houses belonging to it ; and that he should spend what remains

in pious uses. For this is the natural employment of such revenues.

But, as in the course of nature, some things are done otherwise than according to common rules, and besides the inclination of universal nature : so as to the Pope, who is the universal dispenser of ecclesiastical benefices, if he sees that the portion of the priests, which ought to be laid out in pious uses, or some part thereof, may be employed for some particular good uses ; and that it would be most expedient it should be so, he may without doubt provide accordingly. He may therefore very lawfully set a portion upon a benefice, for the relief of an indigent person, especially a clergyman, that he may be able to live in some measure according to his order. But 'tis a great abuse that all the fruits should be reserved, and that wholly taken away, which is to serve for the maintenance of divine service, and the support of the incumbent ; and that pensions should be given to rich clergymen, who can live conveniently enough upon the revenues which they have, is surely a great abuse also, and both of them are to be removed.

There is another abuse also in the changing of benefices, upon contracts that are all of them simoniacal, and in which no regard is had to anything but gain. Another abuse to be taken away altogether, has prevailed in this court by the knavery of certain persons that are shrewd in their way : for whereas the law provides, that benefices cannot be given away by will, because they are not the testator's, but the Church's fees ; and that the Church's patrimony should be continued as a common provision in the behalf of all good men, but never grow into a private estate : no little pains have been taken, in which more of worldly wisdom than Christian honesty is to be seen, to find out divers tricks for the eluding of the law. For bishoprics and other benefices are resigned ; first, with a condition of resuming them ; to which is added, a reservation to collate the benefices belonging to them ; with another reservation to administer and govern. And so here comes to be a bishop who has not so much as one right of a bishop, while the other is no bishop at all, who claims all the right belonging to one. Your Holiness may see to what a pass things are brought by the flattery of making every thing lawful that is resolved to be done. For we would fain know what this is, but to make a private inheritance of a benefice ? Another cheat besides this is invented, that bishops upon their petition, have coadjutors granted to them, not so well qualified as them-

selves ; so that unless a man be resolved to shut his eyes, he must needs see that the coadjutor is by this trick made heir to the bishopric. Again, it is an ancient law established by Clement, that the sons of priests should not succeed their fathers in their benefices ; and this, lest the common patrimony of the Church should become a private estate. But as we hear, this venerable law is dispensed with ; and we must not conceal what every prudent person will by himself discern to be a great truth, that no one thing hath raised more of that envy against the clergy, from whence so many seditions have already happened, and more are at hand, than this turning of ecclesiastical profits and revenues from being a common to a private thing. All men had some hope before this, but now they are reduced to despair, and sharpen their tongues against this holy see. It is another abuse, that benefices are disposed in reversion, and occasion is given to the expectant to desire another man's death, and to be glad when he hears of it : by which means also, when a vacancy happens, they that deserve best are excluded ; besides the law-suits that are hereby caused. All this we think ought to be mended. By the same craft, a farther abuse is introduced : for whereas some benefices are by law incompatible, and are so called, our ancestors intending to admonish us by the signification of the word, that they ought not to be conferred upon one person ; this too, is now dispensed with, and not only two, but more of these benefices ; and which is worst of all, bishoprics, are enjoyed by the same man : which custom, brought in by covetousness, we think ought to be turned out again, especially as to a plurality of bishoprics. What shall we say to the union of benefices for a man's life, to avoid the incompatibility of them under this colour ? is not this a mere fraud upon the law ? Another abuse has prevailed, that bishoprics, not one only, but more, are collated upon the most reverend cardinals, or given them *in commendam* : which we, most blessed Father, believe to be no slight grievance in the Church of God ; inasmuch as, first of all, the office of a cardinal and that of a bishop are incompatible in the same person : for the cardinal's province is to assist your Holiness in the government of the Catholic Church : but that of a bishop is to feed his flock ; which he cannot do well and as he ought, if, as a shepherd, he dwells not with his sheep. Besides, holy Father, the example of this custom does a world of mischief : for how can this holy See guide others, and correct their abuses, if she suffers such abuses in her prin-

cipal members? For we do not think that because they are cardinals, it should be more lawful for them to transgress the laws, but that they should least of all presume to do it; since their lives are to be a law to others; nor are they to be like the Pharisees, who said, but did not; but to our Saviour Christ, who began to do, and then to teach. And besides this, licentiousness being the fuel of avarice, the use of it is prejudicial to the counsels they take in church affairs. Moreover, for the obtaining of bishoprics, cardinals do court kings and princes, their dependence upon whom afterwards hinders them from speaking their minds freely; at least, if they were bold and willing enough to speak, yet they would easily be perverted into a wrong judgment by affection and interest. We could wish therefore that this custom were broken, and that all the cardinals might have an equal revenue, which would maintain them handsomely according to their dignity; which provision we think might easily be made, if we would be willing to serve mammon no longer, and would serve none but Christ.

These things being set right, which refer to the appointment of your ministers, who are as it were, the instruments for the right performing of God's worship, and the well ordering of the people in a Christian life: we must now come to those things which relate to the government of Christian people: as to which matter, most holy Father, there is an abuse in the first place to be corrected; and the greatest care is to be taken, that bishops especially, no nor curates, be absent from their churches and parishes, unless for a weighty cause, but keep their residence; but especially the bishops, since they are the husbands of the church committed to their care. For we appeal to God, that no sight can be more lamentable to a Christian man going through Christendom, than this solitude of the churches. Almost all the pastors are withdrawn from their flocks, which are almost every where entrusted with hirelings. There ought therefore to be a great penalty upon bishops above all, and likewise upon curates, who are absent from their flocks, and who ought not only to be censured, but not so much as receive the revenues of the church, unless for some short time the bishops obtain leave of absence from your Holiness, and the curates from their bishops. Let some of the laws and decrees of councils in this matter be read, whereby it is provided that a bishop shall not be absent from his church above three Lord's days.

It is also an abuse that so many of the most reverend cardinals are absent from this court, and do not so much as in part

do any thing of that office which belongs to a cardinal. We think indeed that it is expedient for some few cardinals to live in their provinces, since they are as it were the root of the papacy, that by shooting out its strings abroad in the Christian world, contains the people in their obedience to the Roman see. But yet we think it were very much for the interest of your Holiness to recall them, though not perhaps every one, to their residence in this court : for besides that by this means they would execute the proper office of cardinals, the state and retinue of your court would be provided for, and the want of those many bishops would be supplied, who ought to leave the court and return to their churches.

Another great abuse, and by no means to be endured, since it is a scandal to all Christian people, arises from the hindrances and restraints that are upon bishops in the governing of their flocks, and chiefly in the punishing and correcting of wicked persons. For first, there are ill men, and especially clergymen, who by many ways exempt themselves from the jurisdiction of their ordinary. But then if they are not exempt, they betake themselves easily to the penitentiary or to the datary, where they presently find a way to protect their impunity, and which is still worse, by giving of money. This scandal, most holy Father, does so disturb Christian people, that it is not to be expressed. We beseech your Holiness, by the blood of Christ, wherewith he hath redeemed his Church, having washed the same in his blood, that these foul blemishes be taken away. Let these mischiefs be removed ; to which, if in any republic or kingdom allowance were given, it would in a little time fall headlong into ruin, and would not by any means be able to subsist long : and yet we think it is lawful for us, so that we have the doing of it ourselves, to see these monsters brought into the commonwealth of Christendom.

In the orders of the Religious, there is another abuse to be corrected, that many of them are so degenerate, that they are grown scandalous, and their examples pernicious to the seculars. We think the conventional orders are to be abolished, not by doing to any man that injury of dispossessing him, but by forbidding them to admit any more : for thus, without wronging any one, they would soon be worn out, and good Religious might be substituted instead of them ; but at present it were best that all children who are not yet professed, should be taken from their monasteries.

We think also, that as to the preachers and confessors that

are sent out by the friars, there is need of animadversion and amendment, that great care should be taken by their chief, that they be fitly qualified, and then that they be presented to the bishops, to whom chiefly the Church is entrusted, to be examined by them, or by fit persons, and that without their consent they be not admitted to the exercise of those offices.

We have already said, most holy Father, that it is by no means lawful to make any gain by the use of the keys; in which matter the words of Christ stand firm and sure, “Freely ye have received, freely give.” This does not only belong to your Holiness to take notice of, but to all who share in this power; and therefore we desire that it may be observed by your legates and nuncios: for as the custom which has much prevailed dishonours this see, and makes the people clamorous, so the contrary would be exceedingly for the ornament of the one, and for the edification of the other.

Christian people are disturbed by another abuse, which concerns nuns that are under the care of the conventional friars, where in most monasteries public sacrileges are committed, to the intolerable scandal of the citizens. Let your Holiness deprive the conventionals of this care, and give it to the ordinaries, or to others as you shall see cause.

The public schools are most perniciously abused, especially in Italy, where many professors of philosophy teach that which is wicked: yea, in churches themselves, there are most ungodly disputes; and if any of them are pious for the matter, yet divine things are handled very irreverently as to the manner, and that before the people. Therefore, where there are public schools, the bishops should be required to admonish the readers not to teach impiety to young men; but to shew the weakness of natural light in questions concerning God, concerning the lateness or the eternity of the world, and the like, and to direct them to pious belief. And as no public disputation about such questions should be permitted, so neither concerning matters of divinity, which by this means would lose very much the esteem and reverence of the people. Those things should be disputed privately, and other questions in natural philosophy, chosen for public disputations. Which caution is to be given to all other bishops, especially of the greater cities where such disputation use to be held. The same care is to be taken about the printing of books; and all princes are to be written to, not to suffer any sort of books whatsoever, without farther examination, to be printed in their territories; the care of which

thing should likewise be given to the ordinaries. And because Erasmus's Colloquies are now a days wont to be read to children in grammar schools, in which there are many things apt to dispose uneducated minds to impiety ; therefore the reading of those Colloquies and the like in such places ought to be prohibited.

Now, besides these things which refer to the appointing of your ministers in this care of the whole Church, and then in the administration and government thereof, your Holiness may please to take notice, that there are other abuses introduced likewise.

The first concerns apostate friars or religious, who notwithstanding their solemn vow, draw back from the religion of their order, and obtain leave not to wear the habit of it : no, not the least appearance thereof, but only some handsome habit of a clergyman. We say nothing now of lucre, for we noted at first, that merchandize was not to be made of the power of the keys received from Christ : we now say, that this kind of dispensation is not to be used. For the habit is the sign of the profession, to which these apostates ought to be held ; nor has the bishop power in this case, so true it is, that this liberty ought not to be given to these men. Neither when they have broken away from their vow to God, should they be suffered to enjoy benefices or cures.

There is another abuse in the collectors for the Holy Ghost, for St. Anthony, and others of this kind, which put cheats upon rustics and simple people, and entangle them in a world of superstition. These collectors, we think, ought to be taken away.

Another abuse there is in dispensing with a person in holy orders to marry, which is not to be allowed to any, unless it be for the preservation of human race in any nation, where the cause is weighty and of public concern. This is especially to be observed in these times, in which this liberty is violently contended for by the Lutherans.

We conceive it also to be an abuse, to dispense with the marriage of those that are in the second degree of consanguinity or affinity, unless it be for a weighty reason. Nor should dispensations be granted without other degrees, but where the cause is honest, and still without money, unless the parties were married before, in which case it is lawful to impose a pecuniary punishment, in order to absolution from sin already committed, and to convert it to pious uses, such as your

Holiness promotes. For as where there is no sin in the use of the keys to be done away, no money can be demanded; so where absolution from sin is desired, a pecuniary mulct may be laid, and designed for pious uses.

In the absolution of a simoniacal person, there is another abuse; and it is a dismal thing to consider, that this plague reigns in the Church to that degree, that some are not afraid to be guilty of simony, and to go presently for absolution. The truth is, they buy their absolution, and so they keep the benefice they bought before.

We do not say that your Holiness wants power to forgive that punishment, which is by positive law appointed for this crime, but that you ought not by any means to do it, that so horrible a wickedness may be more effectually suppressed, than which there is none that breeds more mischief and scandal.

Neither is liberty to be given to clergymen, unless for an urgent cause, to dispose of the goods of the Church by will; lest that which is for the relief of the poor, be converted to private pleasure and the luxury of building.

But neither are faculties to receive confessions with the use of a portable altar, easily to be granted; for thus ecclesiastical affairs grow cheap, and that sacrament also which is the principal of all the rest. Nor are indulgences to be given above once a year in every greater city. Nor ought a commutation of vows to be lightly yielded to, but where the good is equivalent, and will bear it out.

It has been a custom also to change the wills of testators, who have left a certain sum of money for pious and charitable purposes; which by the authority of your Holiness is transferred to the heir of the legatee under pretence of their poverty, &c. and this is gained by money too. Surely, unless a great change happens in the estate of the heir, by the death of the testator, so that the testator himself, in all likelihood, if he had foreseen that change, would also have changed his will, it is an impious thing to depart from the last will and testament of the dead. Of filthy lucre we have spoken so often, that we must mention it no more.

And thus according to our capacity, having summarily described all those things which belong to the duty of a supreme bishop of the Catholic Church, it remains that we say something of that which belongs to the Roman bishop. This city of Rome is both the mother of the Church and mistress of other Churches; wherefore the worship of God and purity of man-

ners should worship there most of all: but yet, holy Father, all strangers are scandalized when they go into St. Peter's church, and see what slovenly ignorant priests say mass there, so habited and clothed, that they could not appear cleanly in a nasty house. This is so mighty an offence to all, that the most reverend the Archpresbyter and the Poenitentiary are to take care of this thing, and remove the scandal: and the like order is to be taken in other churches.

Nay, in this city whores walk about as if they were goodly matrons; or they ride upon mules, and are at noon-day followed up and down by men of the best account in the families of cardinals, and by clergymen. We see no such degeneracy in any other city, but in this, which is to be an example to all others. These whores live in splendid houses: it is a filthy abuse, and ought to be mended.

In this city also malice and animosity reigns amongst private citizens: to bring them to a right understanding, and to make them friends, is a main part of the bishop. Wherefore some of the cardinals, who are fittest for this service, should be appointed to take up quarrels, and to reconcile the citizens to one another.

There are hospitals, pupils, and widows in this city, the principal care of which belongs to the bishop and prince. Wherefore your holiness may please to take a fit care about all this, by some cardinals that are men of probity.

Now these are the things, most holy Father, which we for the present have brought together, as our capacity would permit, that as to us it seems needful, they may be corrected. But you in your goodness and wisdom will make a more perfect judgment of every thing. We indeed, though we have not answered the greatness of the concern which is too hard for us, yet at least have satisfied our own consciences, and cannot but conceive great hope, that under your government we may see the Church of God purged, fair as a dove, at harmony with itself, and united into one body, to the never dying honour of your name. You have taken to yourself the name of Paul; we hope you will imitate the charity of Paul, who was a chosen vessel to carry the name of Christ amongst the Gentiles. We hope that you are chosen to restore the name of Christ, forgotten by the nations, and even by us of the clergy, that hereafter it may live in our hearts, and appear in our actions, to heal our diseases, to reduce the flock of Christ into one sheep-fold, to remove from us that indignation and vengeance of God

which we deserve, which is now ready to fall upon us, which now hangs over our heads.

The names of the Cardinals, &c.

Gaspar, cardinal, Contarene.

Joh. Peter, cardinal, Theatine, afterwards Paul IV.

James, cardinal, Sadolet.

Reginald Pole, cardinal of England.

Frederic, archbishop of Brundusium.

Joh. Matthew Gibet, bishop of Verona.

Gregory Cortesse, abbot of St. George at Venice.

Friar Thomas, master of the Sacred Palace.

There should be another to make nine.

[The name omitted to complete the nine is either Fredericus, archbishop Solernitanus, or Hieronymus, archbishop Brundusinus as in the first edition, the two being contracted into one above.]

THE ADVICE GIVEN BY SOME BISHOPS ASSEMBLED AT
BONONIA, TO POPE JULIUS THE THIRD, CONCERNING
THE WAY TO ESTABLISH THE ROMAN CHURCH.

MOST HOLY FATHER,

YOUR legate at Bononia has given us to understand, that it is your pleasure, that we, the bishops, lately assembled in this city, by your command, should three by three, separately consult about the most effectual means of establishing and advancing the apostolic see, which is at present so much troubled, assaulted, and weakened by the perfidious Lutherans. And that we should deliver in writing our opinions of this matter, that your Holiness may compare them together, and deliberate with yourself about them as you desire. We therefore, the three bishops, whose names are to this, though neither our prudence, learning, or experience in business, does avail much, will yet, in obedience to your will, distinctly declare our opinions with such submission, that yet all shall be referred to the judgment of your Holiness.

But in the first place, with all reverence imaginable, we would admonish your Holiness to take care lest the same thing happen to this our advice, which we remember lately happened in another case, when some cardinals with select bishops, nine in all, consulted about this very thing, viz. the way of reforming the Church ; and presented a paper, in which they offered their opinions. For the things there, that ought to have been suppressed and concealed, presently stole abroad, and were scattered and dispersed even as far as Germany ; and so all our counsels were discovered and laid open to our enemies the Lutherans. And these things were of wonderful advantage to them in the opposition they made against us ; and it is incredible what hatred of us they raised by the books they published upon those advices. Affirming, that we ourselves confess there are many errors and abuses in the Church, which we are so far from being willing to correct ourselves, that we do not stick to defend and maintain them by force, and persecute, with the utmost rigour, any one that dares but to open his lips about the necessary amendment of them.

The divulging that counsel, most holy Father, believe us, was a great disadvantage to our affairs. God forgive him by whose

fault or negligence it happened. But truly there ought to be all the care and diligence used, that this our advice never come abroad ; otherwise we shall add affliction to affliction, and heap evil upon evil ; for we strike at things of the highest concern, and freely without any respect of persons ; we fall directly on the main cause ; first, shew the disease, and then offer a convenient remedy. But these, we say, are to be kept as secrets.

When we had well and long considered what was the state of this weighty controversy, recollecting all things from the beginning (for we should always run back to the first principles), we at last found it to be this :—the Lutherans hold and confess all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, that of Nice and Athanasius. This is very certain, for we ought not to deny (especially amongst ourselves) what we all know to be so true. And these Lutherans refuse to admit of any other doctrine, but that alone, of which the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles were authors ; and wish likewise that all men would be content with those few things that were observed in the Apostles' time, or immediately after, and would imitate the primitive Churches ; nor think of receiving any traditions which it is not apparent, as the light, were delivered and instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles. Thus do our adversaries judge, but indeed they judge ill. We, on the other hand, following the opinion of your Holiness, would have all traditions, constitutions, rules, and ceremonies, which have hither been brought into the Church, by the Fathers, Councils, or any private man (with a good intention) believed and received as doctrine necessary to salvation. But particularly as to tradition, we believe as an article of faith, what the Council of Trent, lawfully assembled, with the Holy Ghost, has decreed in the third session, viz. that our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles delivered more precepts, relating both to manners and faith, by word of mouth, than are in the Scriptures ; and that these, without writing, were handed down to us. And although we cannot prove this clearly (for amongst ourselves we plainly acknowledge, that we have no proofs, but some sort of conjectures, to make out what we teach concerning tradition), yet we confess this to be true, because the Roman Church maintains it. This, in short, is the hinge on which the whole controversy turns ; hence these tumults and contentions proceed. But we ought to venture all to keep their doctrine from spreading any farther, although it has got too far already, which in truth can never enough be lamented. For it is no trifle that is under debate, but the

safety and welfare of your whole state, and of us, who are all your creatures and members, is now at stake. For in the days of the Apostles (to tell you the truth, but you must be silent), and for several years after them, there was no mention made of either Pope or Cardinal ; there were none of these large revenues belonging to bishops and priests ; no sumptuous temples were raised ; there were no monasteries, priors, or abbots, much less any of these doctrines, these laws, these constitutions, nor this sovereignty which we now exercise over people and nations.

But the ministers of all churches (as well that of Rome as others) were willingly obedient to kings, princes, and governors. Let your Holiness therefore judge how hard it would go with us, if by ill destiny, we should again be reduced to the primitive poverty and humility, again subjected to the wretched servitude of being under the command of others. This is, therefore, as we said before, a matter of the highest moment.

Moreover, this in our judgment, is the only way of avoiding this grievous danger. We find upon full examination of the matter, that the glory, authority, and power of the Church first arose when shrewd, discreet, active bishops began to preside over it, who used their opportunities to obtain from the emperors, that they would by their authority and power establish the primacy and supreme power over other Churches in this see. And this Pope Boniface the Third, amongst others, is said to have received from the Emperor Phocas. We observed likewise, that the affairs of the Church began more and more to flourish every day, when cardinals were created, the number of bishops was increased, and so many and so goodly orders of monks and nuns were first founded. Nor can we doubt but those Popes, cardinals, bishops, monks, and nuns, have by their cunning, their inventions, rites, and ceremonies, turned away the Church from that ancient doctrine which kept her so poor and humble, and have by these arts procured her favour and authority. We ought, therefore, to take the same measures to preserve her in that state to which they have raised her. That is, all kinds of application and wit is to be employed ; the number of cardinals, bishops, monks, and nuns, is to be increased, and to speak particularly, your Holiness is in the first place to take this course.

France, Italy, and Spain (notwithstanding the Lutherans boast that the greatest part of Europe is in their interest) are content with your empire, the last of which does most religiously observe all your laws and constitutions, does not change

or innovate in any thing. And as for that nation, you need not be solicitous ; for you can find but few amongst the Spaniards who have not an abhorrence for the doctrine of Luther. But if there are any heretics amongst them, they are such as rather deny that the Messiah is yet come, or that men's souls are immortal, than question the power of your Holiness. But without doubt, this heresy of theirs seems to us more sufferable than that of Luther ; and the reason is plain, for these Maurani, though they believe nothing of Christ, or a future state, are yet wont to hold their tongues, or at most laugh amongst themselves, and in the mean time they are not at all wanting in their duty to the Roman Church.

But the Lutherans do not behave themselves thus ; they openly dissent from us, and endeavour what they can to weaken and ruin our whole state. France and Italy seem plainly to affect innovations ; and most of these nations, according to the copy that Germany has set them, are ready to lay hold on the next occasion to fall from us. Moreover, there are many eminent cities in those two provinces, who have no bishop of their own, but are subject to the bishops of the greater and most powerful cities. Now your Holiness should choose out about a hundred of these, and create so many new bishops to govern them. Then add fifty more to the present number of cardinals ; and out of all these bishops, I say, and cardinals, as well old as new, select thirty or forty of the most subtle and most versed in courts and business, who are skilful in the canon and civil laws ; keep these about your person, let these be your counsellors and ministers in your most weighty affairs and private concerns. And send all the rest, as well those bishops that are cardinals as others, into their respective dioceses, and order them to entertain the people with plays, shows, and all manner of diversions. And let them present themselves to the people both in the church and riding frequently about the city, in as much pomp and splendour as they do at Rome. So will it come to pass, that the common people who admire these pomps and ceremonies, and are wont to make much money where there are many rich men, will at last be brought over either by courtesy or their own advantage to favour your side. And we need not fear for the future what Luther, Brentius, Melancthon, or that late heretic Vergerius shall write. Oh ! how much did it concern us, that he should not have escaped from us, but have here either been clapped into prison or thrown into the Tiber ? For he who was brought up in your public and private affairs,

is acquainted with a great deal of our concerns and of all our counsels. But your Holiness has long hands, and in your great wisdom will find a remedy for this evil ; for it is, and ever will be, lawful to take all ways to free ourselves from the snares of our enemies ; nor did we think fit to name those men, but for a very good reason, a word to the wise. Then let your Holiness take care that these cardinals and bishops that reside in their dioceses bestow benefices on the children of their citizens ; for this is an admirable and ready way to keep their minds steady in the faith. And we know many of your subjects, who would long ago have embraced Luther's doctrine, but for this one reason, that either they themselves or their brothers, or their sons, enjoyed some ecclesiastical preferment. Nor would it be amiss to send a great many of those priests that they call Chietini and Paulini, into France and Italy. For, to say the truth, these common priests and monks do really abuse the mass too much, which they say with little or no devotion, chopping it up in haste and making a public sale of it. Besides, they live such dissolute, profligate lives, that men deservedly give no longer credit to them, nor suffer themselves to be persuaded (though our sophisters take great pains about it), that a wicked debauched fellow can draw Christ out of heaven to the altar, free souls from purgatory, and obtain forgiveness of sins, both to themselves and others, and all this by the works done. Therefore these new priests, the Chietini, because they say mass slower and with greater gravity, take no hire, but are content with their meat and clothing ; and, in the course of their lives, carry a greater shew of goodness, will restore mass to its primitive authority and recover its reputation. You should likewise make it your business to get new orders of monks founded every where ; for they, believe us, do great service in the establishment of your dominion. For you may consider how they have increased it by the confessions, preaching, and worship, which they have brought into the Church. Besides, we are taught this by long experience, that the sect of the Lutherans has been less able to intrude itself there where there is the greatest numbers of monks (especially Dominicans and Franciscans) who have ever stoutly maintained your and overthrown the adversaries' doctrine.

Likewise, give orders to the cardinals and bishops who reside, as well as to the priests and monks, that they institute new fraternities, as they call them, in honour of this and that saint. For our brother Thomas Stella, or Todeschin, boasts, that he

contributed most to the establishment and enlarging of your empire, by preaching the people in many parts of Italy into a zeal for these fraternities, especially of that of Corpus Christi. Moreover, let them make supplications with the greatest shew and pomp imaginable. Let them cause new statues and images to be made, burn lamps and candles before them, and use all sorts of instruments and organs in their temples ; these are the things, we say, with which the people are chiefly delighted ; and for whose sake they had almost forgot that doctrine which was so destructive and pernicious to us.

Nor are these, which we have mentioned, the only things to be observed, but the most reverend the cardinals and bishops ought likewise to be mindful of this.

That they themselves sing mass with the greatest pomp and magnificence they can possibly ; and also consecrate fonts, give orders, purify churches, altars, and burying-places, christen bells, veil nuns, in the eyes of the people, and in sight of all the congregation. For the vulgar are given to admire and to be amused with these things, in the contemplation of which, their minds are as it were so entangled in a snare, that they have no relish for any other food, or any inclination to any other doctrine ; as indeed (to say the truth) they were designed for that purpose. And really in our judgment, these things should be augmented and multiplied ; for if the introducing and appointing those few which we have now mentioned, were of such use to the settlement of your kingdom, of what advantage would it be, were there some new ones added ? for example, that three-fold oil for the chrismes and for the sick is consecrated every year upon Maundy Thursday, and that by one bishop, together with twelve priests, with that thrice repeated adoration and salutation, with those exorcisms, with those breathings upon it, and with that rich balm which is usual. Let your Holiness appoint that the consecration be not performed under five salutations and twenty priests. Command likewise that some other precious liquor, besides balm, such as manna, be added, because we find it rained that in the wilderness, which therefore deservedly ought to take place amongst our ceremonies. Likewise as often as the water of baptism is consecrated, it is customary to put salt and oil into it, and to dip the paschal taper thrice in it, and to divide it into four parts. Order that moreover, they mingle some vinegar with it, for that was given Christ to drink on the cross, and therefore that ought to be of some use amongst the ceremonies. Also in the dedication of churches, the bishops are

wont to draw all the letters of the Latin and Greek alphabet with their crosier in the dust. Command them to write the Hebrew letters too, if they know them (though that does not signify much, for they do not understand Greek, and hardly Latin, and yet they can write it ; and it is the same thing as if they knew them) for the reason of Christ's crucifixion was written on the cross in these three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. And whereas the bishops only anoint the palms of the priest's hands, order them to anoint both the palms and backs of their hands, as well as their head and whole face.

For if that little oil has so much virtue to sanctify them, surely a greater quantity of oil will have more virtue for that purpose. Lastly, when bells are christened, they make a perfume of frankincense and other incense ; appoint that musk and amber be mixed with it, to raise and increase the religion of the thing, and the wonder of the people. Once more, when any bishop sets himself to officiate in any divine service with pomp and solemnity, he ought to have many ornaments to distinguish him from ordinary priests ; such as (to omit the rest) the bones and reliques of some dead man, which he usually wears at his breast, set in gold, in the form of a cross. Do you command him to hang a whole naked leg, arm, or head of some saint about his neck, by a good thick cord, for that will contribute very much to the increase of the religious astonishment of all that see it. The truth is, these ceremonies were all invented and continued by Popes ; you therefore that are Pope, may if you please, augment them : nay, rather indeed, for that purpose and design which we mentioned, ought to do it. Besides, we would advise, that your Holiness should lay your commands on those cardinals and bishops that happen to reside in their dioceses, that they take care to have Logic, Sophistry, and the art of the Schoolmen, Metaphysics, the Decretals, Sextus, the Clementines, the Extravagants, and the rules of Chancery publicly taught and read in their cities. It had been well, if men had ever applied themselves industriously to the reading such sort of books, for then our affairs had never been in so bad a posture as they are ; but despising this sort of learning, they began to employ themselves in learning Greek and Hebrew, and in a little time to examine the translation of the Bible by the true original, and to study Divinity, and the ancient Fathers of the Church ; and hence sprung all the misfortunes we lie under ; therefore you must endeavour, that setting these studies aside, men should again fall to the study of

the Schoolmen and of your canon law, by which it is manifest the study of divinity was in a manner overwhelmed and buried. But let your Holiness use caution in this ; for we mentioned before only the Decretals, and Sextus, and the Clementines, and the Extravagants, and not that which is called the Decretum, which ought not to seem strange, for it is a pernicious book, and lessens your authority extremely, although it seems in some places to enlarge it : for amongst other things, in several places, it denies, that the Pope can add the least tittle to that doctrine, which our Saviour declared to us, and the Apostles taught ; for thus says the canon, Transferat, &c. 24. q. 3. "They change truth into a lie, who preach anything than what they received from the apostles." This is a downright Lutheran maxim ; for what else do our adversaries daily inculcate, than that it is not lawful to depart in the least degree, from those things that were in use amongst the Apostles. But who of us doth not every day often depart from them ? Indeed in our churches we scarce retain (as we hinted at the beginning) the least shadow of that doctrine and discipline, which flourished in the times of the Apostles, but have brought in quite another of our own. Nay, we are expressly called liars by that Decretum, inasmuch as we have done this ; yet we have done it by the advice and instructions of Popes ; nay, by their peremptory order and command. But we wish there were not so many canons as there are of this kind, that enjoin things directly contrary to what the Popes, and all of us do every day, (we speak of matters of faith and doctrine, not of manners.) Take one or two of them for instance. Thus says the canon that begins, contra 25. q. 1. "Nothing can be established contrary to the constitutions of the fathers, nor any thing altered, no not by the authority of this see." And then another canon that begins, Ideo, &c. says. "Thus by the divine permission we are so made pastors of men, that we ought not in the least to transgress whatever our fathers in their sacred canons or civil laws have appointed ; for we go against their most wholesome institutions, if we do not keep inviolably what they, according to divine pleasure have ordained." Do not Pope Zosimus and Leo the Third, (nay, and the whole Roman Church) plainly here declare aloud, that the authority of this see, can do nothing against the canons, against the law, and against the ordinances of the ancient Fathers, which ought to be religiously observed ? How therefore shall we answer our adversaries, when they press and urge us with this, and turn

that of the fifth Psalm upon us? "There is no certainty in their mouth ;" for they accuse us of lightness and inconstancy, who have such express canons, which forbid the Popes to alter the decrees of the Fathers, or do any thing contrary to them ; and notwithstanding all this, there is nothing more frequent than the presumption of altering what has been established by the ancient Fathers and Councils. How, I say, shall we answer this, especially since the book of decrees is so celebrated and famous, and is in all schools, courts of judicature, and churches, held in the greatest honour and esteem ? And besides those few which we have given you a taste of, it contains a great many others that favour the cause of our adversaries, and favour it in such a manner, that they seem to have been penned by some of them. Moreover, we shall consider of some course to be taken with these decrees ; for it seems very absurd that anything should be taught which is contrary to what your Holiness does not only do, but commands to be done.

But we have reserved the most considerable advice, which we could at this time give your Holiness, to the last : and here you must be awake, and exert all your force to hinder, as much as you can possibly, the Gospel from being read, (especially in the vulgar tongue) in all the cities that are under your dominion. Let that little of it which they have in the mass serve their turn, nor suffer any mortal to read anything more ; for as long as men were contented with that little, things went to your mind, but grew worse and worse from that time that they commonly read more. This, in short, is the book that has, beyond all others, raised those storms and tempests, in which we are almost driven to destruction. And really, whoever shall diligently weigh the Scripture, and then consider all the things that are usually done in our churches, will find there is a great difference betwixt them ; and that this doctrine of ours is very unlike, and in many things quite repugnant to it. And no sooner does any man discover this, being set on by some of our learned adversaries, but he never ceases bawling against us, till he has made the whole matter public, and rendered us odious to all men. Therefore those papers are to be stifled : but you must use caution and diligence in it, lest that create us greater disturbance. D. John Della Casa* bishop of Beneventum, the legate of your see at Venice, behaved himself

* Author of the Poem, "Dell'urno."

handsomely in that business ; for although he did not openly and avowedly condemn that book of the Gospel, or order it to be suppressed, yet in an obscure dissembling manner he insinuated as much ; whilst in that long catalogue of heretics which he put out, he has found fault with part of the doctrines maintained in it ; particularly some certain chapters which seem most to make against us. Seriously, a renowned divine action, whatever others chatter ; for at first blush it seemed ridiculous to many, that he should condemn so many authors at once, who wrote about religion, when himself had never read so much as one syllable of divinity, and published I know not what, to which he gave this title, “ Of the Divine Art.” But this is nothing, and they who censure this in him, have little business of their own to employ them, and shew themselves to be great novices in the court of Rome : for he, as he is a true and eminent courtier, spake freely what was his opinion, which we think makes much for his credit.

It now remains, most holy Father, that we should in short make a reply to what may perhaps be objected by you ; that having done this we may finish our epistle.

Your Holiness therefore perhaps may say, if it is at this time so dangerous a thing to hold a council of these bishops, though few in number, lest some of them should dare to raise a clamour, and be severe against my dignity to undermine it : how much more dangerous would it be, if besides these there were a hundred others created ? We shall offer three things in answer to this. First, look (as you generally do) that those bishops who are to be created, be ignorant and unlearned, but very skilful in the affairs of the court, and addicted to the interest of your family ; for that alone will suffice. Then avoid a council as much as you can, though Cæsar be very urgent, clamorous and importunate. Lastly, if only to save your fame and reputation, you desire, or would seem to desire a council, you may re-assemble that. But (as has been hitherto) let these be only admitted, who you are certain will go on your side, and let the others be kept out, and driven away. But of all things be most careful, that no embassies from any of the German princes, who are of the Ausburg Confession, come into the council. For, good God ! what mischief, what damage did we many ways receive by the embassy which the duke of Wirtemberg sent to Trent ? I wish Crescentius the legate had fagotted them up together, both Theodoric of Plienningiu, and those two

doctors, Werner of Munchingen, and Hieronymus Gerardus, as well as those two scurvy divines, Brentius and Beurlinus, (for those were the duke's ambassadors) and so thrown them into the next river Athesis ; nor should he have spared Sleidan, the envoy from the R. P. of Strasburg.

For since they could not obtain their audience of the Council (and heretics are not worthy to be heard) they returned into their countries with greater animosity against your Holiness than they had before : there they write books against us, and embroil every thing. It had been therefore much better policy not to have kept our faith with them, (as our canons order) but made them inhabitants and freemen of the river Athesis, as an example to all other heretics, that they presume not to come near our most sacred and holy councils.

These are the things, most holy Father, which in obedience to your Holiness, we thought fit to offer to you, being ready to have given better if we could ; we truly have spoken freely and ingenuously what we thought ; but we must again and again put you in mind, to be careful that these things be not divulged. And if you act according to our advice, we have no small hopes that your Holiness will preserve France and Italy (for as we said, we have no apprehension of Spain) in the faith, and establish and strengthen your kingdom : as for Germany, (to tell you the truth) we can by no means hope it will ever be reduced under your command : therefore we advise you to throw away all thoughts of it : for if Cæsar, when victorious, after he had granted so many articles, which are plainly repugnant to the Catholic Church, (as you may see in his interim) could not bring that nation to an agreement with us ; you may be certain there is no way left to regain it. Add to this, that the people in thirty-six years are quite degenerated into another race ; for they who were born and educated under your government, who had a singular sense of their duty to you imprinted on their nature, are dead ; and there is, on the other hand, a succession of young men, who as they had no experience of your doctrine, neither love nor admire you ; insomuch as they do not stick (oh villany !) to call you Antichrist : we know there are some indifferent good scholars, who favour us heartily, and really wish to restore those things that were delivered them by our ancestors, and reinstate you in your former power. This they endeavour with all their might, and sometimes scatter their notions in company, sometimes publish books to

maintain and support the sinking papacy. But these are much the fewest, and of no authority or judgment; therefore they can do nothing. But it is wonderful to see with how much greater vehemency and affection the Germans are carried to hear those who teach the Lutheran heresy, than to frequent mass, or hear them that preach your doctrine. Lastly, all Italy saw the letters of Cardinal Pool, your legate, who is to reclaim England from heresy; who wrote in this manner:

"We staid for some days at Tilinga and Ausburg, and made most diligent inquiry into all matters belonging to religion: but we found nothing of this kind that could please us. For the churches of our adversaries are every day wonderfully frequented, and their preachers followed with great alacrity: ours on the other hand are forsaken; and if you saw our churches, you would call them deserts, there are so few, and those I know not who, old men and women that come to mass." Thus, he and his friends, particularly D. Aloysius Priulus wrote a great deal to this purpose: in short, we may despair of that nation. Therefore your Holiness may very lawfully exact something more than ordinary from those who are still your subjects; that what you lose out of your revenue by their revolt, may be thence supplied. But we would likewise admonish you of this, that in raising money out of the datary and penitentiary, as they call it, and other offices, as also in the exaction of tithes and tribute you use circumspection; and though you are desirous to pick up money from every thing, yet carry yourself so in it, as to silence the clamours of people for the future. It is certain, indeed, that all the riches of the world are yours, who are Christ's vicar, to whom the possession of all things belongs, and therefore you may lawfully take what you please anywhere; but do this neatly and dexterously; for (let us confess the truth) it is incredible with how great hatred people are incensed against you, and what horrid things are spread amongst the multitude concerning you; and there has hardly been any Pope, to whom both in words and writing, they have more manifestly declared their aversion. For, as for England, upon which you value yourself so much, as if it were to be ascribed to your good fortune, that that Queen takes care to extirpate heresy out of the kingdom: you have certainly no share in that praise. Then we fear lest that sudden felicity should not be lasting. Besides the Queen styles herself supreme head of that kingdom, next and immediately after Christ; so that though the

old worship and ceremonies were never so much restored, your power and authority is not to be retrieved. In short, you must be very watchful, and face the storm, unless you are desirous to venture all at one cast.

Wishing your Holiness all health, we humbly prostrate, kiss your sacred feet.

Your Holiness's most devoted servants and creatures,
Vincentius de Durantibus, bishop of Termulæ.
Giles Falceta, bishop of Caprulæ.
Gerard Burdragus [Busgradus,] bishop of Thessalonica.

Bononia, Oct. 20, 1553.

SEVERAL CAPTIOUS QUERIES CONCERNING THE ENGLISH
REFORMATION, FIRST PROPOSED BY DEAN MANBY (AN
IRISH CONVERT) IN LATIN; AND AFTERWARDS BY
T. W. IN ENGLISH, BRIEFLY AND FULLY ANSWERED.

SECT. 1. *Quer.*—The Church of England is either the whole Catholic Church, or a member thereof. If a member only, name me that church or congregation, under the sun, whose sacraments and liturgy she embraces, unless she have cut herself off from the rest of the body?

Answ.—If the Church of Rome were spread over the face of the whole earth, excepting here in England; and nothing would serve, but we or they must be the Catholic Church, reason would require that the Church of England should be so, which is better, and not the Church of Rome, which would be but the bigger Church. But we pretend not to be the Catholic Church, because we neither need nor ought to boast beyond truth. The sacraments we embrace are received by all Christian Churches in the world, and no Church ought to receive any more. We embrace the Liturgies of other Reformed Churches, and use our own as they use their own, and embrace ours. We embrace all that honest Christians can embrace in the Liturgies of the unreformed, and we reject the rest. We have not cut ourselves off from the rest of the body, but the Church of Rome has done so, because she is resolved to be all or nothing.

Sect. 2. *Quer.*—Does she allow the sacraments of Lutherans or Calvinists?

Answ.—She allows and administers the same sacraments that Lutherans and Calvinists do, not because they are sacraments celebrated by them or by any others; but because they are sacraments instituted by Christ.

Sect. 3. *Quer.*—From whence was Cranmer, that first patriarch or reformer of the Church of England sent? Who gave him authority to preach his reformed Gospel? Was it just or honest for him to rise up against the Church of Rome by virtue of a commission from her received? And if so, I pray inform me, whether a bishop or minister fallen from the Church of England, may not also take upon him to preach against the Church of England, by pretence of the orders received from her hands.

Answ.—Cranmer was immediately sent by the bishops that ordained and consecrated him, originally by Christ, who left that power in the Church by which they did so. So far, therefore, as he was the first reformer of the Church of England, he did what became his mission, better than if he had gone on to maintain false doctrines as the patriarch of Rome did. That he was the first reformer was not his fault, but theirs who went before him in that great station, and should have done the same thing, but did not. The Gospel which he preached was not the Gospel of man, and therefore not his own, but the Gospel of Christ. Nor was it properly a reformed Gospel which he preached, since the Gospel of Christ is in all ages one and the same. But if because he reformed the profession of the Church in some things, which were no part of the Gospel, though they were pretended to be so, he must be said to have preached a reformed Gospel ; neither was he to blame for that, whose duty it was to cast errors out of the Church, but they only were to blame, who had been so careless and treacherous as to let them in. He did not rise up against the Church of Rome when he rose against the corruptions of that Church which had obtained in England ; unless the Church of Rome cannot subsist without such notorious errors as he rose up against. He was not her enemy, unless he became so by telling her the truth. Nor is it true that he received his commission from Rome, though he received it by the hands of bishops that were in servitude to that see. For his commission had been every whit as good, if they had not been subject to the Roman bishop, as they ought not to have been. But since his obligation to Christ, from whom he received his commission by their hands, was infinitely greater than to them, it was just and honest in him to rise up against those unchristian doctrines and practices which they maintained ; and no less justifiable than to have risen up against the Arian heresy, if he had received his orders from Arian bishops. And if ever the Church of England should fall into the like corruptions again (which God forbid), those bishops and ministers that have received orders from her hands, and who in discharge thereof take upon them to preach (not against the Church of England, but) against the wicked doctrines and practices of the Church ; those bishops, &c. I say, will do not only what they may, but what they ought to do ? and for the doing of which, they shall be rewarded at the last day by the Great Bishop and Shepherd of souls, by whose authority and command they so did.

Sect. 4. *Quer.*—Whether want of mission be not an error in the foundation of any Church? It being theft and robbery (as our Saviour has taught us) not to enter by the door into the sheepfold.

Answ.—That Cranmer did, or that our pastors now do want mission is a falsehood insinuated by this query. Their mission has been more canonical than that of many of your Popes has been. But for once to answer directly to an impertinent question. The want of such mission does not destroy the being, or as you call it, the foundation of a Church. Nor is that the door of which our Saviour spake in John x. since in the needs of the Church good shepherds may come into the fold without canonical mission, and it has on the other side too often happened that thieves and robbers have come into the fold by it, who came not but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy.

Sect. 5. *Quer.*—Whether Cranmer entered by the Parliament door, or by the gate of the Scriptures? But this latter is the old song of heretics and sectaries, perpetually boasting of Scripture. I demand, therefore, Does not the Bible admit of various interpretations? Whence of necessity some judge is to be assigned to determine which is the true interpretation, unless your inclinations be to wrangle to all eternity?

Answ.—To the first of these profound interrogations, I answer thus:—That if Cranmer entered by the Parliament door, it is a door at which you, whoever you are, would be glad to enter too, provided you could get in without passing the gate of the Scriptures, which you shut up against men, for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. For your saying, that Scripture is the old song of heretics and sectaries, &c. I know not whether it betrays more ignorance or profaneness. The Scriptures (if they must be so called) were the old song of the good old Fathers of the Church: and the old song of the old heretics and sectaries was tradition, tradition, unwritten tradition; the taking up of which song, is that that gives you some title to antiquity.

To your second interrogatory, I answer, That if by admitting various interpretations, you mean that the words of the Bible are not so plain as to exclude all possibility of various interpretations, and perverting them to a wrong sense, it is then a very idle demand, Whether the Bible does not admit of various interpretations? For I defy your judge whom you speak of presently after, be he man or men, to put words so together, that it shall be impossible to pervert them to a wrong meaning.

But if you mean, that upon a fair construction of the words of the Bible, they admit various interpretations ; I answer, that in some places they do, and in others they do not admit more than one, which is therefore undoubtedly the true one. But for your consequence, that of necessity some judge is to be assigned, &c. I beg your pardon that I do not see it, unless of necessity men must be either so wanton and quarrelsome as to wrangle to all eternity about the meaning of words, which may be diversly expounded without any harm done ; or so perverse, as to cavil at a text which has but one plain meaning. If you find yourselves given this way, you indeed ought to have a judge assigned for you, and more than one. You should have one judge assigned, whose constant business it should be to determine the true interpretation of all other Scriptures, but those that speak of him, to keep you from wrangling about them : and you would need another extraordinary judge to assign the ordinary judge, from those texts that mention him, and a third to assign the second ; and so on, till you come to a judge for whose credit you must take his own word, that ye may not wrangle about a judge to all eternity.

Sect. 6. *Quer.*—To these queries I have often desired an answer, but never met with any.

Answ.—Why, that was hard indeed ; but I must tell you, that these queries, though they were printed, yet went abroad so privately, as if they were more afraid, than desirous to meet with an answer. Whether you ever met with an answer, I cannot say ; perhaps you have not, and it may be, you will never own that you have. But let us go on.

Sect. 7. *Quer.*—If you pretend (as many do) that Cranmer and his associates derived their holy orders from Christ and his Apostles by the hands of Roman Catholic bishops ; it follows inevitably, that Roman Catholic bishops did also receive their orders from Christ and his Apostles, and consequently are therefore to be heard. By this answer the Protestants seem to me to destroy their own cause.

Answ.—If they destroy their own cause, you are to give them thanks ; for it is more than their enemies can do. But I do not see how this answer destroys it ; for if those whom you call Roman Catholic bishops can give good orders, then were the orders of Cranmer and his associates good. It is enough for us, that they had their orders from bishops : and as we contend that their orders were never the better, so we willingly grant that they were never the worse for being conferred by those

whom you must needs style Roman Catholic bishops. Well, but you say, if we pretend to derive our holy orders from Christ and his Apostles, by the hands of Roman Catholic bishops, it follows inevitably, that these also did receive their orders from Christ and his Apostles. So that though our orders are never the worse for coming through their hands, yet the Roman Catholic bishops themselves are in a better case for our granting it ; since their orders must therefore by our confession, be from Christ and his Apostles. Very well ; and if your doctrine be true, it will, I think, be found, that Judas received his orders from Christ too, when Christ said to him and to the rest, *hoc facite*. Perhaps you will say, that those were not bishops' orders. To go on with you therefore ; what follows from Roman Catholic bishops, having received their orders from Christ ? Why, therefore they are true bishops, and to be heard. Undoubtedly ; but what then ? Therefore Protestants seem to destroy their own cause. This is so much out of the common road of reasoning, that surely you have some logic by yourself, which the world yet never saw ; and therefore you would do very well to let us have it, if ever it should come into your head to query again. Not to have heard you, had been unreasonable, I confess, and this, whether your bishops were true or not. But we have heard them over and over, and this, although they have said the same thing over and over again. You may also perceive that I have read (which may serve instead of hearing) yourself too, whom I fancy to be no bishop ; and this I assure you, not without some trial of my own patience, to read such rambling and unedifying things as you have here brought together.

Sect. 8. *Quer.*—But you will say, perhaps, that Roman Catholic bishops did receive their orders, not their doctrine from Christ and his Apostles. Very good : I would fain know then by whose authority the first reformers rose up against the doctrine of the Church of Rome : untie this knot, or confess that Cranmer, Luther, Calvin, Socinus, &c. made themselves judges, witnesses, and accusers.

Answ.—Here again we are at a loss for want of your private logic : for why judges, witnesses, and accusers should come in here, no man alive, it may be, knows but yourself, and perhaps not you neither. To so much as I understand, I am content to answer. True bishops then may preach false doctrine, and against your bishops we have terrible evidence, that those doctrines of theirs which we reject, are so far from being received

from Christ, that many of them are contrary to what we have received from him. Now every Christian not only may, but ought to reject such doctrines, and that by the same authority which requires every one to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. And much more may bishops, and other spiritual guides, rise up against them. Nay, by their orders and station in the Church, they have not only authority so to do, but it will be severely required of them if they do it not. I know not what ailed you to tie an invisible knot, and then to bid us untie it. As for Socinus, we are no more bound to answer for his (or any other man's) errors, because he holds many truths with us against you, than we are bound to answer for yours, because we hold some truth with you against him.

Sect. 9. *Quer.*—But the more common answer is, that every National Church may reform itself. Be it so: then it follows, Scotland may reform itself to Calvinism, Saxony to Lutheranism, &c.

Answ.—And so you leave us to gather the rest in this manner, but Scotland ought not to reform to Calvinism, Saxony to Lutheranism, and therefore a National Church may not reform itself; which is as much as to say, that because the National Churches, which reformed themselves, did not all of them agree in every point of doctrine and discipline with one another; therefore they ought not to have reformed the most manifest abuses and notorious errors, in the taking away of which they all agreed. If you intended to insinuate, that we confess some defects in this or that National Church, since they reformed, your argument is just such another as this, because the National Churches in reforming themselves, did not do every good thing which they might; therefore they ought not to have done the good which they did. You may, sir, observe if you please, that the authority of any National Church to reform itself, does not imply it to be an indifferent thing, how she proceeds in doing it. Nor does it follow, that because it is possible for a National Church to use authority in this matter, better or worse, therefore she has no authority at all in it. If you are ignorant if these things you do well to make queries upon them; but it should have been done modestly, and without pretending to dispute of things in which you are so very unskilful.

Sect. 10. *Quer.*—Moreover it is false, that the change of religion was made here in England, by vote of the National Church or clergy of England. No, no, but by the giddiness of a few, during the minority of Edward VI. being then a child

of ten years old. Read the annals of those times, (even Fox himself) where it is evident, that almost all the English bishops (Cranmer and two or three more excepted) were utterly against the pretended Reformation.

Answ.—If the Reformation were not a pretended only, but a real reformation; and if all the English bishops almost were against it, the more to blame they, but the reformation was not the less necessary. Truth is to be followed with a few, if they are but few that follow it; but thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil. It is better to be in the right with a young king, though he be but a child, than to be in the wrong with an old Pope. But for what you say, that the change of religion in England was made by the giddiness of a few, it is notoriously false, for they were but few in comparison that opposed it: and it was so generally received, that fire and faggot in the next reign was not able to destroy it.

Sect. 11. *Quer.*—Yet let us suppose, but not grant religion to have been reformed here, by the major part of the English clergy: I understand not how it may be lawful for the Church of England, being in actual communion with the Catholic Church, to separate itself from the rest of the body.

Answ.—She has not separated herself from the rest of the body, though she has not now for some time been in actual conjunction with one part of it, and that the most corrupted part of all the rest; the true reason whereof is, that you will have no communion with us, but we must pay for it at the price of our souls. If to reform ourselves, be to separate from your Church, look you to that, who have, it seems, made both these things to be in effect the same thing, by your hating to be reformed. We, for our parts, are amazed, that men who talk so much for unity of communion, will not do that for the sake of unity, which ought to be done, though discord and separation would certainly follow upon it.

Sect. 12. *Quer.*—If you say, this was not done by fault of the English Church, but of the Church of Rome, obtruding on the world her errors and corruptions: I answer in short, that all heretics (themselves being judges) will escape condemnation. And farther, let the reader take notice, that all Presbyterians are wont to urge this very instance in their own defence against the Church of England, to wit, that they have left only the errors and corruptions of the English Church.

Answ.—If you say, this was not done by fault of the Roman Church, but of the Church of England, refusing to submit to

the Supreme Pastor, and rejecting the Catholic faith: I answer in short, that all usurpers and deceivers (themselves being judges) will escape condemnation. And farther, let the reader take notice, that though this plea of forsaking the errors of a Church, lies in the middle to be taken up by every one that separates from a Church, yet one may take it up with very good reason against one Church, while another lays hold on it, without any just cause for so doing against another Church. Nor ought it to be esteemed any prejudice against using such a plea, when there is cause for it, that others may use it when there is none. For otherwise it is impossible that the innocent should ever make a good plea for themselves, since they that are guilty may, if they can but speak, take the same words into their mouths. When the two Apostles said to the council, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye ;" they might have been told, that this was no more than what every deceiver might say: and yet I suppose you will not deny but the plea in their mouths was a very just and sufficient plea.

Sect. 13. *Quer.*—Whether the true service of God had been corrupted throughout the whole world before Cranmer's rise: if not, tell me in what province of the earth did it exist? whether among the Waldenses? But I am ignorant from whence Peter Waldo, the merchant of Lyons, received his mission. Nor do I know whether his sacraments are approved by the Church of England.

Answ.—The whole world is a very wide place, and the query is a very impertinent query: for whether the true service of God had been corrupted throughout the whole world before Cranmer's rise, or not; one thing we are sure of, that it was most vilely corrupted here, and therefore that there was crying need to have it reformed. But if you long to have a more positive answer to the question, first go and learn, that every corruption in the service of God does not destroy the truth, though it lessens the purity of it, and that every defect does not deserve to be called a corruption; that as to this matter, some Churches were better, and others worse; none, I doubt, perfect; but that there was one worst of all, so very bad, that Peter Waldo needed not any mission to declare against the corruptions of it. Learn these things as you ought to do, against the next time; and if you intend to go on in this way, then you shall hear farther from me. Concerning the sacraments which the Church of England approves, I have told you my mind once already.

Sect. 14. *Quer.*—Whether at this day there be no pure and apostolical service of God in the world, except that established by law in England and Ireland? Whether it be lawful for the people of England to invent a Church to themselves, divided from all the rest of the Christian world? By what authority do they censure the sacraments and rites of the Roman Church?

Answ.—For an answer to the first part of the query, I send you back but to the last query of all, where you may find it. As to the second, I say it is not lawful for the people of England, or for any other people, to invent a Church; by which you mean, I should think, to invent a new religion, new doctrines, worships and governments. But what came into your head to ask this question, I am not able to imagine, since our people have invented no new Church, but only retrieved the old; whilst you of all people have been the best at this invention, and by inventing a new creed, and new objects of worship, and new sacraments, and a new head of the Catholic Church, have effectually divided yourselves from all the rest of the Christian world, that stick to the old religion, and will have none of your inventions. 2. I must acquaint you, that the two former branches of this query seem to me to make up a kind of nonsense between them; for in the first, you suppose that we pretend to have a pure apostolical service amongst us; and, in the second, that we must needs grant our Church to be one of our own invention. Now we may take it ill to have questions put upon us, as if we were such ninnies, as to pretend to an apostolical service, and yet to grant that we ourselves were the inventors of it. 3. Take all together, and the most I can make is this, that you lay great weight upon your presumption, that by our service we stand divided from the rest of the Christian world; which I have already told you is notoriously false. But for your better instructions, I shall add, that if indeed we only had a pure and apostolical service, and yet upon account of our service, no other Christians would communicate with us; the rest of the Christian world ought to be ashamed of it, but we not at all. By the run of your Queries, you seem to be ignorant of one of the plainest things in the world, which therefore I do again commend to your consideration, viz. that truth is the same, and changes not, whether they be many or few that possess it; and that our religion stands not in a multitude of pretenders, but in a holy doctrine, and a holy practice; which all ought to follow, even when the most do not. As for the third branch of this query, by what authority, &c.? it comes in as if you could never ask it

often enough : but if I have not given you a sufficient answer, pray do you try to give a better, if you can, to this. By what authority do you censure the sacraments and rites of the English church ?

Sect. 15. *Quer.*—Whether Cranmer was the first archbishop of the Church of England ? The reason of my doubt is this, because archbishops of Canterbury, for nine preceding ages, were Roman Catholics, ? If he was the first, he wanted episcopal succession, because being the first of his sect, he succeeded to none. Then how could he be a lawful pastor, who had neither succession, mission, nor miracles to recommend his new doctrine ? I say new, and strange at that time, and for many ages before.

Answ.—Hethat affirms there were Roman Catholic archbishops of Canterbury, for nine ages before Cranmer, and yet makes a doubt whether Cranmer was the first archbishop of Canterbury or not, shall doubt on for me. If indeed Cranmer was the first archbishop of Canterbury, then, as you say, he wanted episcopal succession (in the see of Canterbury) that is, he had no bishops that were his predecessors in that see, because he was the first : and I am very glad, that you do not doubt of that too : and yet, I think, there is as much reason to doubt of that, as of the other. But then you are to come to an end of the first doubt presently, for now you do not doubt but Cranmer was the first archbishop (though there were archbishops for nine ages, before him) and wanted episcopal succession. I suppose you do not care to stand doubting long upon a matter : but in the name of sense how can this be ? Why, because being the first of his sect, he succeeded none. Notably spoken ! and all is now as plain as can be. Because Cranmer was the first of his sect in the see of Canterbury : therefore he was also the first of his order ; for if there were no archbishop of his sect before him, without doubt there were no archbishops before him at all ; and yet there were two ; therefore I begin to doubt this will prove but a bad business at last. However, sir, I give you many thanks for your argument, such as it is ; for the distinction which it proceeds upon, we have been tugging for this hundred and fifty years, and you at last have very civilly yielded it to us. For, in plain English, you would prove that Cranmer, wanted episcopal succession, because he wanted doctrinal succession ; he was, say you, the first of his sect, and therefore he succeeded to none : And again, how could he be a lawful pastor, who had neither succession, &c. to recommend his new doctrine. Now though I can by no means grant, that want of doctrinal succession

implies the want of episcopal succession ; nor will you neither, when you have taken something to clear your brain ; yet I do very thankfully acknowledge, that to make a good pastor, there ought not to be an episcopal succession only, but a doctrinal succession also. Now Cranmer, we say, received his orders from the bishops of his age, and his episcopal succession from his immediate predecessor in the see of Canterbury, and so upward. Thus far now we are very well. But then for his doctrine, for which you would make him the first of his sect, he took a far better course than, as you would have had him, to receive it for good and all from his immediate predecessors ; for it was possible, and upon trial he found it certainly true, that his predecessors had made a failure in succession of doctrine, and innovated against the ancient faith and worship of the Christian Church. He therefore went to the records of the primitive Church, and to the Scriptures, which are the most ancient of all, and the only infallible rule of faith ; by which he found, and so may you (if you have grace to do it) that some of those bishops, whom you speak of, that went before him, had miserably failed of carrying on the succession of true doctrine. Now I will be content in this matter to make you the judge ; that if they are not lawful pastors, who want succession of doctrine, whether the unlawful ones be those who broke the succession of it at first, or those that restored it afterwards. And, because I will not tie you too severely to your own words, I will abate the word lawful, and suffer you to put good pastors instead of it. For I think that orders and regularity of episcopal succession, will suffice to make them lawful bishops, who for corrupting the doctrine of the Church, shall not be allowed to be good ones. I have one word more to say, and then you shall speak. You have heard, I perceive, from some of your friends, that the archbishops of Canterbury for nine ages before Cranmer were Roman Catholics. Now their meaning was, that all the archbishops of Canterbury even from the time of Gregory the Great, that sent Austin hither, were just such believers as those whom you now call Roman Catholics : but though you know not these matters, and, it may be, not they either ; yet I can assure you, that very many of your doctrines and practices are not only different from, but contrary to what was believed and done in Pope Gregory's days : which you shall find made out very clearly to your hands, in the vindication of the answer to some late papers, (p. 72, &c.) So that there has been sad tampering with Christianity since his time ; and when first the archbishops

of Canterbury became your Roman Catholics, they themselves interrupted the succession of primitive and ancient doctrine. Take good notice of the place I refer you to, in that excellent book now mentioned ; and if you improve by it, as you ought, I may direct you hereafterwhere to find, that the corrupt doctrines of your Church were of a much later date, than for you to talk as you do of nine ages before Cranmer.

Sect. 16. *Quer.*—Whether that be a true church that wants lawful pastors ? and whether pastors not lawful and true can be said to have true sacraments ? If not, then is it not better to communicate under one kind with Catholics, than under no kind with Reformers.

Answ.—But if we have lawful and true pastors, as for any thing that you have hitherto said, nay that you or any of your party can say, we are sure that we have ; then this query comes in too soon : and therefore at present the question stands thus : whether it is not better to communicate under both kinds with the real Catholics, than under one kind only, with the pretended ones ? but if you think fit to renew the query, I would advise you mend it a little against the next time ; and not by any means to question the validity of our sacraments so crudely as you do ; for you will find, that your own Church does not presume to baptize those over again, which go from us to you : and it were not amiss, if you would tell us more distinctly what you mean by lawful pastors ; whether you oppose them only to such, of the validity of whose orders we have no good assurance, or who also came into their cures by simony, or who are schismatical pastors, and the like ; for these can hardly be said to be lawful pastors. Make your query plain, and I have a plain answer for you ; which perhaps you little think of.

Sect. 17. *Quer.*—Whether the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England be articles of faith, yea or no ? If not, then nobody is bound to believe them under pain of damnation. If they be, then hath the Church of England invented new articles of faith, besides those XII. instituted by Christ and his Apostles.

Answ.—In return to this query, I shall deal as plainly with you as you could wish. Many of the Articles of the Church of England are doctrines opposed to the errors and innovations which your Church holds for articles of faith. Now, as to these doctrines, we do not esteem them in the same rank with the articles of faith, because they are not at all times necessary to be propounded to all, in order to their salvation ; but they

are necessary to be taught the faithful in these parts of Christendom, to secure them from the contagion of those errors you have brought into the Church. For instance, if you had not set up the doctrine and practice of praying to the saints, there had been no need at all of a determination of this Church against it ; nor had it been necessary to instruct our people, that the saints are not to be prayed unto. Had not your Church invented the article of transubstantiation, ours had not opposed a contrary article to it. Now as to the doctrine of these and the like articles of our Church, we do not say, that it is in itself necessary, but only profitable. But it is necessary for us to teach it, because, as you have ordered matters, to be ignorant thereof, is very dangerous, the contrary errors being damnable. For you are strangely mistaken, if you think that no error is damnable, but the direct denial of some truth which is always necessary to be propounded to all, that is, of an article of faith, strictly and properly so called. And I can assure you, that the best divines of your own Church are of another mind. There is therefore no room left for your second supposition, that if they be articles of faith, then hath the Church of England invented new articles of faith, &c. But I wonder not a little at the boldness of your inference, while, with no better colour for it, you would draw us in to be suspected of that which yourselves are so notoriously guilty of, *i. e.* of making new articles of faith. For had not you done so, we should have had no occasion to oppose your inventions so vigorously as we have done, nor you any colour to insinuate as if we had added to the Creed. I would fain know of you, that if false doctrines, which do not directly contradict the articles of the Creed, should be thrust into the Creed by one part of the Church, whether another should be afraid to contradict them, for fear of being accused of adding the contrary propositions to the Creed too ; though it be evident they do it not, but only take care to keep the old faith pure from the new doctrines, and the minds of the faithful uncorrupted with false doctrines ? If you should think fit to say so, I must then ask you, whether ten thousand foolish and false, nay and dangerous opinions, might not by some or others be tacked to the ancient creeds, and yet the rest of the Christian world should not dare to determine precisely against them. And yet I must tell you, that if you have not capacity enough to distinguish between rejecting errors on the one side, and adding to the articles of the Creed on the other, I have a question to offer you, which will go near to spoil your query, and this it is. If you will needs

call our articles, additions to the common articles of the Christian faith ; whether it be not somewhat worse to add notorious and dangerous errors to the Creed, than to add plain and profitable, and as the case may be, necessary truths to it ?

Sect. 18. *Quer.*—Whether the reformed religion may not be divided and subdivided into endless reformations ?

Answ.—The Turks have taken much notice of the divisions of Christians : do you therefore go and answer a Turk, putting this query ; whether the Christian religion may not be divided and subdivided into endless religions ? And then I will answer this wise query of yours, if you be not from that time able to answer it yourself. But if you should have but little concern for Christianity, yet surely you have a great deal for Popery. Therefore I expect your answer to this other query ; whether the sense of the Council of Trent may not be divided and subdivided into endless expositions and representations ? Tell me this, and I also will tell you, whether the reformed religion, &c.

Sect. 19. *Quer.*—Whether in the matter of the Eucharist, the argument drawn from our senses be not fallible ? The reason of this question is, because the serpent deceived our first parents, by persuading them to believe their own eyes, rather than the word of God. As that, they should eat of the tree of knowledge, because it was fair to the eye. Now if mankind should be so deceived by their sight, pray whence should their other senses deserve more credit ?

Answ.—And was not the fruit of that tree fair to the eye ? How then did their sight deceive our first parents ? Would any one that had but read Gen. iii. 4, 5, say, that the serpent deceived our first parents, by persuading them to believe their own eyes ? Be so just to yourself, as to believe your own for once, and read the words ; “And the serpent said unto the woman, ye shall not surely die : for God doth know, that in the day that ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened ; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.” Now I take this to be a persuading them to believe something which they did not see, and not, as you say, to believe their own eyes. And their credulity as to this unseen effect, was that which prevailed with them to their ruin. Remember therefore, if you please, that our first parents were deceived, by giving an easy assent to a confident boaster, and bold promiser of supernatural effects, and from expecting more from such assurances, than what they could have been led to by the most full information of their senses : remember this, I say, and then apply it to the Eucharist,

as you shall see convenient. Read the text again, and then tell me why you say, that the serpent deceived them by persuading them to believe their own eyes, rather than the word of God : and why you give this instance of it, as if it were his argument ? that they should eat of the tree of knowledge, because it was fair to the eye ? The truth is, the serpent set up his own glorious promises against the threatenings of the Almighty ; and in this we know he has been well imitated. And if he had not wrought more upon them by their hopes and credulity, than by evidence of sense—(for though they saw that the fruit was pleasant to the eyes, we have no reason to think they would have tasted it, had they not been deluded with the expectation of being as gods)—his attempts of deceiving might have been as vain as yours are in this query.

Sect. 20. *Quer.*—Whether the Church of England be not changeable, according to the various inclinations of English Parliaments ?

Answ.—Changeable ? as how, I pray ? For this one word changeable, splits the query into I know not how many queries, unless you had told us as to what the Church of England may or may not be changed, according to the will of English Parliaments. For instance, the Church of England is at present the Church established by law ; and if you ask whether the Church of England, with respect to legal establishment, be not changeable, according to the various inclinations of English Parliaments, including, as I hope you do, the pleasure of the Sovereign, then without all doubt English Parliaments may change the Church of England ; but we hope they will not do it. But if by changing the Church of England, you mean that Parliaments can make the religion professed by the Church of England, to become a false religion, when their inclinations are once varied from us, then I tell you, that the Church of England is not changeable by English Parliaments, nor by all the powers upon earth : for this matter is fixed to their hands, and can never be unfixed to the end of the world. And I do willingly acknowledge, that the religion of the Church of Rome is in this respect every whit as unchangeable as ours ; that is to say, that part of it which contradicts ours, is false to-day, and all the Parliaments in the world cannot make it true to-morrow. If this answer should offend you, I pray do not blame me, but thank yourself for putting the query, which no doubt pleased you very much. But the answer, let me tell you, is a good one. We of this Church depend upon king and parliament for the

legal establishment of our religion, but not for the truth of it ; the former therefore is changeable, because men are so ; but the latter is not so, because God changeth not. Thus we render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. And it were well if you would do so too.

Sect. 21. *Quer.*—Whether the spirit of Calvin denying, and that of Luther affirming, a corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, be the same spirit ? if not, then both cannot be of God.

Answ.—This again is so ambiguous and deceitful, that one would think you had learned to frame your queries, after the pattern of the famous Apollo's answers. Here therefore I must fall to distinguishing as fast as I can, and answer as warily, as if some great matter depended upon it. In the first place then, I well remember, that this word spirit, sometimes signifies doctrine ; and if the meaning of the question be, whether Calvin's doctrine against, and Luther's for a corporal presence, be the same ? I answer positively and resolutely, that they are not the same ; and finally, I grant that those two contrary doctrines cannot both be of God. Secondly, by this word spirit we do sometimes understand the disposition and temper of a man's mind ; and then, if the meaning of the query be, whether Calvin and Luther, one of whom denied, and the other maintained a corporal presence of Christ, &c.—whether, I say, both these men were, for all this, endued with the same qualities that make up the character of a good man, whether they had the same spirit of sincerity, and piety, and charity, and the like ; then according to this notion, I answer, that I verily believe they had both the same spirit, notwithstanding that difference ; and consequently, that the spirit of the one as well as of the other, was of God. Thirdly and lastly, this word spirit is sometimes used to signify a persuasion concerning some doctrine, proceeding from the immediate inspiration, whether of the good or the evil spirit. And if the question goes upon this meaning, it is an impertinent question ; for Luther and Calvin did not pretend to teach doctrine from immediate inspiration ; but to prove their doctrine by the Scriptures. But if you only meant to make some advantage to yourself from these two men's disagreeing in a matter which we must confess to be of moment ; I only desire you to turn the tables, and to answer these queries : whether the spirit of the Jesuits, who say that the Pope is above a General Council, and the spirit of the Sorbonne utterly denying it, be the same spirit ? Whether the spirit of Thomas

Aquinas, affirming that the same honour is to be given to the image, that is due to the person represented by it, or the spirit of the Bishop of Meaux, denying it, be the same spirit? And not to be tedious, whether the spirit of Innocent III. and his Lateran Council, and of I know not how many more Popes, and of Cardinal Perron, and many more cardinals, affirming, that heretical kings may and ought to be deposed, and the spirit of our English representor, and those for whom he undertakes, who all deny it, be the same spirit? If not, then both cannot be of God.

Sect. 22. *Quer.*—Was not John Calvin a most impudent creature, in assuming to himself the office of reforming the world, being but a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, and without all pretence of miracles? a thing which Christ himself undertook not under thirty years of age.

Answ.—I think indeed Geneva may pass for the world, by the same figure that the Church of Rome goes for the Catholic Church. When the world groans for a reformation, I do not see where lies the impudence of trying, by good doctrine and example, to reform that part of it where one lives, unless it lies in being impudently and bravely good, which is sometimes necessary to give a check to impudence in that which is bad. If he be a young man that takes this upon himself, he is the more to be commended: and if he can fairly carry the reformation beyond his own country, this is still more commendable; and if he could reform the whole world, then I say, for that which you call impudence, generations to come ought to rise up to his name, and call it blessed. You ought not, I tell you, to despise John Calvin's youth, as one of your great ones did Luther's meanness, who hearing the Ausburg Confession read, said to his confidant, that these things indeed were true, but it was not to be endured, that a pitiful monk should reform the world. But if nothing else will satisfy you, but it must be impudence in a young man to think of reforming the place where he lives, yet at least do not represent him as a most impudent creature; for, as I take it, there are a long row of Popes from Formosus downwards, who, if your own historians are to be credited, shall compare with John Calvin in this point—not of reforming the world—but the other, and shall get the better of him by much. And amongst these, there is one John XI. son to Sergius III. one of his predecessors, who was something less modest than John Calvin, inasmuch as being yet but a boy,

he took upon himself to be head of the Catholic Church, which our John, I dare say, would never have accepted any time of his life. Indeed, the young Pope was thus far to be excused, that he was put into the chair by Merocio, who, though she was not Sergius's wife, was yet John's mother. For Donna Olympia was not the first of her quality, that swayed all at Rome.

Sect. 23. *Quer.*—Whether from the womb of the Reformation have not issued all those slaughters, rapines, tumults, plundering of churches, schisms, and civil wars which broke out in the year 1641?

Answ.—No truly; for since the Reformation, the Church of England hath lent neither principles, nor examples, nor counsels, nor arms, nor men, nor money to carry on rebellions or rapines. The world saw that she stuck by her royal Master to the last: and if you say, that it was her interest to do so then, I hope you will grant that she has at other times given proof of a higher principle: nor can you, without rubbing your forehead, question the strictness of her loyalty, who begin (some of you) to laugh at her for it. I hope you will not say, that the Irish rebellion, which broke the ice for all those slaughters, rapines, &c. which you mention, to come after it; that that issued too from the womb of the Reformation. I think this query had better rest, lest when the mother of that offspring is agreed upon, we should be tempted to inquire who was the father of it.

Sect. 24. *Quer.*—Whether Africa produces more variety of monsters than Britain does fanatics, where every man may read and interpret the Scriptures according to his own judgment of discretion.

Answ.—I know pretty well what fanatics Britain has produced, but what variety of monsters Africa produces, I cannot well say; the surest way to be satisfied, is to go thither yourself, for authors are not agreed. But if by fanatics, you mean false pretenders to inspiration, you may take your comparison nearer home, where it is as much as a man's life is worth to have the Scriptures to read. In short, Britain has fanatics, but the British Church does what she can to reclaim them, which she thinks ought not to be tried by setting up an inquisition for some of them, and cannot be done by making saints of others of them. You understand, I suppose, and therefore go on.

Sect. 25. *Quer.*—Whether Queen Elizabeth, born of Anne Boleyn, Queen Catharine yet living, can be thought legitimate.

Answ.—Without all question she can be thought legitimate ; for I find that I think so, and I know many who say so, that do not use to say one thing and think another.

Sect. 26. *Quer.*—How admirable was the wisdom of Henry the Eighth, by expelling one Pope of Rome, to raise up infinite Popes of his own subjects !

Answ.—Not very admirable, I confess, if it were so ; for we had even too much of one Pope of Rome before, as the complaints, and the laws of our ancestors can well witness. But how did he raise up infinite Popes of his own subjects ? Were there so many heads of the Catholic Church raised by him in his own dominions ? or did every body think himself infallible, when once they depended upon his Holiness no longer ? When you design a witty query, take care whilst you live that there be some sense, and a little truth at the bottom ; and, in one word, that it be not like this, which is a mere bubble, and turns to nothing.

Sect. 27. *Quer.*—By whose authority did he divorce his virtuous wife Queen Catharine ? His own or a foreign ? If by his own, why may not other kings also put away their wives at their pleasure ? If Mary, his daughter by Queen Catharine, was legitimate heiress of the kingdom, then Elizabeth was not, because it was not lawful for king Henry to have two wives at once.

Answ.—I doubt not but queen Catharine was a virtuous wife ; but under favour, since you will needs be meddling with these matters, you should have put your question, either with more honesty, or with more skill ; and instead of asking, by whose authority he divorced his virtuous wife, you should have asked by what authority he divorced his brother's wife : for there lay the point ; and here I must tell you, that after that question, whether the Pope had power to dispense with that marriage, had been debated and determined in the negative by the most famous universities of Europe ; for you, an unskilful querist, to ask by what authority the king did as he did, shews that you have spent your time to little purpose, and are to be admonished to bestow it better for the future. As for your other difficulty, how Mary and Elizabeth could be both legitimate ; I answer, that the legitimacy of Elizabeth is plain, supposing the marriage of queen Catharine to king Henry to be void ; but yet Mary, the child of that marriage, was not illegitimate, because the marriage was made without fraud. But if one or other of them must necessarily be illegitimate, pray look you

to the consequence, who, I suppose, apprehend some great matter to depend upon this dispute. For my own part, these kind of queries seem to be very impertinent ; for if Queen Mary was illegitimate, our religion is not one jot the truer for it ; and if she was legitimate, neither is it the worse. But there is a time to answer questions that are none of the wisest.

Sect. 28. *Quer.*—If that religion be sacred that is established by law, why did Queen Elizabeth destroy the Catholic religion established by so many acts of Parliament ?

Answ.—It seems then that what you call the Catholic religion may be destroyed ; and yet these queries are published with allowance. Your superiors surely can instruct you, that to destroy the legal establishment of a religion is one thing, and to destroy the religion is another. But they saw, that if you had expressed the former, the query had looked so ridiculously, that it had been a shame to let it go. For all the sacredness that human law can give to a religion, is a legal sacredness, and no more ; or if you please, a legal establishment : and so this is the English of your query. If that religion has a legal establishment, that is established by law ; why did the Queen destroy the legal establishment of the Catholic religion, which was established by so many laws ? In my opinion it had been much better to query thus like a plain man ; if the Catholic religion was established by so many laws, why did Queen Elizabeth unestablish it by law again. And now, having brought your query to this form, I answer, that yours is not the Catholic religion, and it was pity that it should have that sacredness which the law gave it, because it had no sacredness of its own to deserve it ; and therefore it was a very good law that took away the other sacredness from it. If you think this answer not to be full enough, you may pick out something more in answer to Sect. 20. whither I refer you.

Sect. 29. *Quer.*—Queen Elizabeth expelled fourteen Catholic bishops from their sees, for refusing the oath of supremacy. But how could they swear her to be head or supreme governor of the Church, when they could not swear she was head of this kingdom ?

Answ.—I think truly fourteen bishops were deprived in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and that for not taking the oath of supremacy. But take this along with you too, that most of these bishops, if not all, had taken the very same oath before, and some of them assisted at the framing of it.

So that one would think, that their refusing to take the same oath under Elizabeth, was as much as to deny her to be head of the kingdom, as you say ; which all modest men must grant to have been a sufficient cause for their deprivation. But yet as tender as princes are of their titles, it is to be remembered to her immortal credit, that she did not serve them as her predecessor did Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, but used them in all other respects with great gentleness. What their true reasons were for refusing the oath of supremacy, I shall not go about to divine. But as for you, who will needs have it to be this, in part at least, that they could not swear she was head of the kingdom : thus far you are to be commended, that you have chosen a more modest expression of your malice, than that impudent writer did, who told us the other day, that she was a known bastard. But in the calumny I perceive you are both agreed : and heark ye, gentlemen, I do in behalf of the dead Queen, and of that age, which universally acknowledged her title, defy you both to make good your reproach, and fix the title of calumniators upon you both, if you neither can justify it, nor will publicly retract it.

Sect. 30. *Quer.*—Did not Cranmer and his reforming associates steal their liturgy out of the Roman missal, ritual and breviary?

Answ.—Or rather did not you steal this query from the dissenters ? Sure I am, that hitherto it has been theirs, saving only the rudeness of the expression, which you have added to it. Go to them, and they can furnish you with an abundant answer to this terrible objection. But if something must be said here, our liturgy, if it must be stolen, looks as if it were stolen not out of your Roman, but the old Gallican missal, which once was ours, and therefore it was not stolen, but now every body has his own again. But if we had taken your Roman missal, ritual and breviary only, and compiled our liturgy out of them, yet we took nothing of your peculiar goods from them, but only what every part of the Catholic Church has as much right to as yourselves; and as for that which is peculiarly and properly your own there, we have left it entirely to you, and much good may it do you.

Sect. 31. *Quer.*—Are not Protestants bound by their oath of supremacy, to obey the king as supreme governor, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal ? What mean they by these words, “as well in all spiritual as temporal things or causes, &c.” but that Protestants are sworn to yield to

the king all manner of obedience, both civil and religious. Are they not obliged therefore, according to the oath, to become Catholics with a Catholic king, Calvinists with a Calvinist king, Arians with an Arian? I say according to this oath because the king's majesty is the only supreme governor (under Christ), as well in all spiritual as temporal causes, which words confess in the king a spiritual as well as civil jurisdiction. But whence does his spiritual jurisdiction appear without the power of the keys?

Answ.—You have been as often told what we mean by these words, “as well in all spiritual as temporal things or causes,” as you have asked the question; but you would never take notice of the answer, nor make any exception to it; and yet it is an even wager, that the next set of queries, which you intend to astonish us with, brings this over again. But once more you are desired to take notice of the meaning of our Church, where it is most plainly expressed, viz. in article 37, title, “Of Civil Magistrates :”—“The king's majesty hath the chief power in the realm of England, and other his dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of the realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction. Where we attribute to the king's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the sacraments; the which thing the injunctions set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy Scripture by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.” You see then our Church acknowledges the king to be supreme governor in all causes, and over all persons ecclesiastical, viz. that no quality in the Church, nor cause of the Church, exempts a subject from the secular laws and the sword of justice; which may be very true, as it undoubtedly is, and yet all manner of obedience in religious matters shall not presently become due to the king. For when sovereigns require their subjects to do things contrary to true religion, if their subjects give but one manner of obedience to their laws, which goes with us under the name of passive obedience, it saves at once their acknowledgment of the sovereign's supremacy over them,

and of God's supremacy over all. So that we are not obliged by our oath to become Calvinists with a Calvinist king, nor Arians with an Arian king, nor Roman Catholics with such a king ; nor, in a word, to be of the king's religion ; but to submit to his authority, let his religion be what it will. In short, let the persons or causes be what they will, our Church acknowledgeth the king to be supreme governor in his dominions, he only having the civil sword. But now as for you, that make the Pope the head of the Catholic Church, and union to him necessary to your being a member of it, who laugh at us for that dependence which our ecclesiastics have upon the king, and depend, in effect, for all the benefits of Christianity, upon your ecclesiastical union to the Pope, which is something more than the article recognizes of our sovereigns ; you, I say, would do well to tell us how you can avoid being Arians with a Pope Liberius, or Monothelites with a Pope Honorius, or No Image-worshippers with a Pope Gregory I., or Image-worshippers with a Pope Adrian I.

Sect. 32. *Quer.*—You will say, the king is to be obeyed, so far as we may by the laws of God, and the kingdom. Be it so ; then it follows, that the king is not supreme governor under Christ, but the laws of God and the kingdom.

Answ.—To this silly stuff, I oppose a little plain sense. That the laws of the kingdom are not to be opposed to the supremacy of the king, whose laws they are. That the king is our supreme governor under God, but that we know of no supreme governor that is to be obeyed absolutely, without any limitation whatsoever but God himself.

Sect. 33. *Quer.*—What if controversies rise between the king and his subjects about the true sense of Scripture, who shall be judge ? The private spirit or not ? Hence, if I am not mistaken, came the rise of our late civil wars.

Answ.—I dare say you are the first that ever found out the want of a judge betwixt king and people to be the rise of the late civil wars. It is pity the observation should be lost, for it is a notable one, and would mend the history of those times not a little. But pray, who should that judge be, to determine the true sense of Scripture between the king and his subjects ? The Pope, without doubt. And so we are gotten into the old circle again. For if they must take the judgment of the Pope at a venture, then any man may be agreed upon to be the judge, and he will serve the turn as well as the Pope : but if God has made the Pope judge, that indeed is another case. But

how shall we know it? by the Scripture? who then must be judge of the true sense of Scripture, with reference to the question? The Pope says, it is a plain case on his side. But it may be, neither the king says it nor his subjects. Who therefore must be the judge between the king and the Pope, or between his subjects and the Pope? Not the private spirit, for the world, for thence come wars. So that the Pope must be judge, because the Scripture says so: and the Scripture says so, because the Pope must judge. Now if instead of Pope you put in Council, you will find the circle go as round with one, as the other. Nor do I see how you can avoid it, but by running out into the long line of a judge upon a judge, without end, which I gave you some warning of before. To conclude. When you have tired yourselves with these frivolous expedients for the ending of controversies, do what you can, you will find it best to come to that which you disgrace under the name of a private spirit; the good use whereof is that which must do the business. Men must be honest, and hearken to instruction, and love truth, and remember that the day of judgment is coming. This you cannot deny to be the duty of all: and if you and everybody else could be brought to it, then about plain things there would be no controversy at all; and those about points that are indeed difficult, might do a great deal of good, but would be sure to do no hurt at all, either to the Church or to the world.

Sect. 34. *Quer.*—Why did so many noblemen under Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, so readily embrace the Reformation? Was it for conscience sake, or the lucre of church lands.

Answ.—The noblemen under those princes were generally for wisdom, fortitude and manners, a glory to their age and nation. But now they are dead and gone, and it will be time enough to know the secret into which you are inquisitive, when the day of judgment comes; and till then I can be contentedly ignorant, whether it be for conscience sake, or the lucre of church lands, that you wrote these queries.

Sect. 35. *Quer.*—Why do Englishmen (so desirous of novelty) hate Popery? Perhaps because Popery is no novelty.

Answ.—If you are an Englishman, methinks it is no good sign of the religion you are of, that it has inspired you with the scorn and hatred of your own countrymen to that degree as to spend a reproach upon them, which all the world sees there is not the least appearance of cause for. Friend, you took no little care to hedge in this abuse, when you were fain to turn

answerer to your own query, to compass it to your mind. But as your anger had been less, so your wit had been more, to have let alone both question and answer, for there is that in them to clear us from your reproach. You say we hate Popery because it is no novelty : and yet neither we, nor our fathers, nor our grandfathers, have professed or practised Popery, and therefore in spite of your heart, Popery must be a novelty to us ; who, consequently, if we may be judged of by this instance, are not so desirous of novelties. But if you had given us leave to answer your question, why we are not in love with Popery ? I should have answered to this purpose : That it is not so far a novelty neither ; but though we are strangers to the profession of it, yet we have so true an idea of the doctrines and practices of your Church, that yourselves are not able to deceive us into another.

Sect. 36. *Quer.*—The Church of England is either fallible or infallible ; if fallible (as is confessed by all) then is she not founded upon a rock, because she may deceive and be deceived.

Answ.—After all the exquisite discourses that have been published upon this subject : it is—(what shall I call it?) to think that such a pitiful argument as this is worth a thought. Try, if you please, this knotty piece of work upon your own dear self, for no other answer you shall have from me : you, sir, are either fallible or infallible ; if fallible, as I humbly conceive you are, then you are not founded on a rock, because you may deceive and be deceived. But this argument, thus turned upon yourself, is, now I look upon it again, a monstrous dull one, I confess ; and that for proving you not to be built upon a rock, because you may be deceived, when it is so notorious, that thou art all over actually deceived, as thy lamentable paper shews thee to be. There is indeed a little life in that other part of the argument, that you may deceive, for perhaps that is not very much more than possible ; so that I think this little pains I have taken, might have been spared : for I dare say there are very few whom you and your queries will be able to deceive.

Sect. 37. *Quer.*—Whether Cardinal Wolsey did wisely, by demolishing monasteries to found colleges ? The reason of this doubt is, because the tree of knowledge was not the tree of life.”

Answ.—So, so ! monasteries were the tree of life, and colleges are the tree of knowledge. Very neat and witty, I promise you ! Henceforward we shall not want a text to prove that ignorance is the mother of devotion. If Erasmus had not happened

upon something like this in his *Encomium Moriae*, by my consent it should have been written upon your tombstone : “Here lies the author of this query, ‘Whether Cardinal Wolsey,’ ” &c. But what have we to do with Cardinal Wolsey ? Or rather, what have you to do to say anything against him ? Was it a small matter for you to trample upon the ashes of Cranmer, that nothing will now serve you but to perk over Wolsey’s too ? I have taken your size, sir, and must needs put you in mind, that in you it is want of manners, almost, to talk of archbishops and cardinals ; when you but think of such great men as Wolsey and Cranmer, the one a cardinal of the Roman Church, the other an archbishop of Canterbury, men, indeed, of different religions, but both of extraordinary abilities, as well as high station : I say, when you but hear them, or such as they mentioned, you should presently reflect upon your own little self, and not dare to open your mouth, till persons of much meaner rank come into discourse.

Sect. 38. *Quer.*—Is there not wanting in the Church of England, a more correct translation of the Bible ?

Ans.—I warrant you expect that I should say I or No to this query presently. But in such a case, a wise and honest man must have the putting of the question. In few words, I do by no means deny, that the English translation can be more correct than it is : after the exactest care, it is likely there will be some defects in so great a work. But this we say, that we need not a better translation than it is ; and in particular, that for the skill and fidelity shewn that is in it, we will compare at any time with the Vulgate Latin. And therefore whereas you add,

Sect. 39. *Quer.*—That many material errors are found in our present English Bible, tending to schism and liberty of the flesh.

Ans.—I answer, that you are very much mistaken to say so, which I will first shew against your instances, and then leave the reader to say what other name your importunity in this place deserves.

The first instance you refer to, is Gal. v. 17, “For the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.” Now I suppose the material error in this translation lies in these words, “so that ye cannot do ;” which you would say, ought to have been, “so that ye do not.” To this

I answer, that the words* will bear both versions, though I confess the latter seems to me to be more grammatical. The reason, I conceive, why our translators chose the former, was, that the following verse seems to imply, that in this verse the apostle speaks of those that are led by the flesh ; who in that state cannot do the things which their conscience prompts them to. Now this, I say, is so far from being a material error, tending to liberty of the flesh, that it is no error at all, unless St. Paul was mistaken when he said, “the carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God.” Rom. viii. 7, 8.

“The next is Daniel iv. 24, where the prophet speaks thus to king Nebuchadnezzar ; ‘Quamobrem Rex consilium meum placeat tibi, et peccata tua eleemosynis redime, et iniquitates tuas misericordiis pauperum.’ Which text the present English translation thus renders vitiously enough ; ‘Wherefore, O king, break off thy sin by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor.’ Whereas it ought to have been translated, ‘Redeem thy sins by alms-deeds, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor.’”

But suppose it should have been translated redeem, rather than break off, where is the material error ? where is the tendency to schism, or liberty of the flesh ? Surely, if righteousness and alms-deeds will redeem sins, they are not further from doing it, by breaking them off. I should rather think that our translation, if we consider the difference, presses the necessity of universal reformation something more than the other, because it will not suffer a man to fancy that he may keep some of his sins now he knows how to redeem them, viz. by alms-deeds, and shewing mercy to the poor ; but teaches him that he has no other way to escape, but by breaking off his former sins, and doing all the good things that are contrary to the evils he has done ; which doubtless was the meaning of Daniel’s exhortation. And now after all, it was pitifully done of you to examine our translation by your vulgar Latin ; the authority whereof, in these critical disputes, you know we deny. And it was done according to your wisdom too ; for the truth of the matter is, that our translation is right, and yours is wrong ; for though the Chaldee† word signifies to redeem, when it is applied to persons, as Psalm cxxxvi. 4, “Thou hast

* “Ινα μὴ τοιῆτε.

פָרַח †

redeemed us ;” yet when things are spoken of, it signifies to divide, or to break them off. So it is taken, Gen. xxvii. 40, “Thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck,” and Exod. xxxii. 2, 24, and elsewhere. In a word, the vulgar interpreter was so far from shewing his skill here, that he blundered manifestly ; and it must be a very favourable construction of his translation, that can secure it from the charge of false doctrine, viz. that a man can redeem himself from the justice of God.

Again, you say, “ How are St. Paul’s words to the Corinthians misrendered, 1 Cor. vii 9, Quod si non se continent, nubant : But if they cannot contain, let them marry ; where this word (cannot) not being found in the Greek, was devised in favour of the flesh.”

That is to say, in favour of marriage. Now this objection does but shew your want of skill, and the little honesty of those that helped you to it ; for assure yourself, that although there is not a distinct word in the Greek for cannot, yet the force of it is discernible enough to those that understand these things, in that one Greek* word, of which our translators made two English ones, and were obliged so to do, because we have not one that expresses it sufficiently. It signifies to have the command or power over oneself, which your† Latin does better express, than if we had rendered your Latin word for word,—If they do not contain themselves. For not to contain, does in our language and way of speaking, fall short even of the Latin phrase, and much more of the Greek ; and therefore to make true translation, it was needful to say cannot contain. And if the force of the word did not lead your masters to this construction, yet at least the scope of the place might have done it : for a very little consideration had been sufficient to have seen, that the Apostle did not mean to give this counsel of marrying to those only that had been guilty of actual incontinence, but to those also that could not subdue their own desires. And that he speaks here of a power that all have not, is evident also from verse 7, “For I would that all men were even as I myself ; but every one hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.” The truth is, if there be a defect in any part of our translation of these passages, it is in verse 5, where the translators put incontinency to answer the Greek word ‡ for as Dr. Hammond has observed, the English there does not reach the original, so

* *Ἐγκρατεύονται.*

† *Se Continere.*

‡ *Ἄκρασις.*

well as the English [cannot contain], which you have learned to cavil at, reaches it here. But now, sir, why must this word [cannot] be said to be devised by us in favour of the flesh. For neither was it devised ; nor if it were, does the sense which it gives the place, provide chiefly for marriage, but rather by that for the avoiding of heinous sin, as any one, I think, might see, unless he believes fornication to be more tolerable in some people than matrimony. The end of St. Paul's counsel in this place is visibly the same with that of his advice, verse 5, for which he gives this reason, "that Satan tempt you not," *διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑμῶν*, which I would thus paraphrase, "by the unruliness of your desires." Get your masters to do it better ; but mark what I say ; if this be well, as I am reasonably assured it is, it will be in vain any longer to cavil at the translation of the place under debate. And now let us go on.

"Likewise the words of Christ, Matthew xix. 11, are corrupted in favour of the flesh, 'Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est.' 'All men cannot receive this saying, but such to whom it is given.' It ought to be, 'All men do not receive this saying.'"

But notwithstanding your vulgar Latin, our translation is already as it ought to be : for the Greek word* does not only signify, to receive, but as frequently, to be capable of receiving. And there is this reason for translating it so in this place, because in the very next verse, our Saviour, speaking of the same matter, expressly says, "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Now I should think, that this at least implies, that some cannot receive it ; and yet, as forward a man as you are, I suppose you will hardly say, our Saviour put in the word (able†) in favour of the flesh.

"Also the words of Job, chapter vii. and many other texts, especially Exodus xx. 4, in hatred of the picture of our Saviour, Non facies tibi sculptile; which word sculptile is, by the seventy interpreters, translated idol, as indeed it ought to be, because God did not forbid images, but idols."

As for Job vii. 1, it is rendered without the least liberty of paraphrase, and word for word, excepting only the addition of the necessary expletives to express an interrogation in English. But what do I trouble myself to find out some colour of a fault, when you set me to seek one ? The place concerns no manner of controversy between us : and I am apt to think, that you

* Χωρέω. Capax sum.

† Ὁ δυνάνεσθαι.

borrowed it out of a book that was false printed, and then had not judgment enough to correct it.

At last we have, it seems, corrupted Exodus xx. 4, by putting the words graven image in the second commandment ; for is not that it you would have ? And pray, why should we not do so, since not only the Hebrew* but even your own vulgar has the same : which you here confess to be, “ Non facies tibi sculptile.” For what is a graven thing here but a graven image? Oh ! but this word sculptile is, by the seventy interpreters, translated idol. Thou hast a lucky brain ? Belike then, the seventy had the vulgar Latin before them, and followed it in this place. To what purpose is it to spend time upon such stuff as this ? Look, sir, this is the short of the business, the Septuagint’s translation is good, and the vulgar translation is good, and that because it will hold good to the world’s end, that graven images, or any likenesses whatever that are worshipped are idols, not excepting the picture of our Saviour, if we had it ; which I do not say, in hatred of the picture of our Saviour, unless I must needs hate every thing which I do not worship. But I know no necessity of that, for I am far enough from worshipping your own self, and yet I cannot find in my heart to hate you : but I wish you well, and shall therefore give you a little good advice.

Do not for the future, as I hinted to you before, meddle with kings or queens, cardinals, archbishops or noblemen, for they are persons too high for you ; nor with the Septuagint, or the comparing of originals and translations, as I add now ; for these are things too high for you too. And for the same reason, meddle no more between Churches, trouble your head no more about questions relating to holy orders, mission, succession, and the power of reformation : give not yourself to controversies ; and, above all things, write no more queries. And if this temper be once cured, I will not despair, but that your ingenuity may direct you to an employment more suitable to your capacity, so that you may be able to give a tolerable account of your time. Farewell.

* נסלה.

A DISCOURSE WHEREIN IS HELD FORTH THE OPPOSITION OF THE DOCTRINE, WORSHIP, AND PRACTICE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, TO THE NATURE, DESIGNS, AND CHARACTERS, OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

“HE that increaseth knowlege, increaseth sorrow,” is an observation which holdeth true of no part of knowledge, so much as of the knowledge of mankind : it is some relief to him, who knows nothing of foreign wickedness, to hope there are other nations wherein virtue is honoured, and religion is in esteem, which allays his regrets, when he sees vice and impiety abound in his own country ; but if by travelling or reading, he enlarge his horizon, and know mankind better, his regrets will grow, when he finds the whole world lies in wickedness. It argues a cruel and inhuman temper, to delight in beholding scenes of horror and misery ; and certainly none, who either honours his Maker and Redeemer, or is a lover of mankind, can without sorrow look on, and see the indignities done to God, and his Son Christ, and see the enemy of the human race triumphing over the world with such absolute authority, and so much enraged cruelty ; and that not only in the dark region of it, which the Sun of Righteousness hath not yet visited with his Gospel, but that where Christ should have a throne, Satan’s seat should also be, is justly surprising and astonishing. That almost all Christendom hath fallen from their first love, is what none, whose eyes are open, can deny ; and it is little less evident, that the greater part of it hath made shipwreck, and erred from the faith ; and that the Church, whose faith was once spoken of throughout the world, is now become the mother of the fornications of the earth. It is true, the Scriptures warned us of a “falling away,” of a “mystery of iniquity,” of an “Antichrist” to be revealed in due time, and of a Babylonish Rome, which should bewitch the earth with her sorceries, but should be varnished over with fair colours and specious pretences, so that “Mystery” should be on her forehead : being then warned of so much danger to the Christian religion, it is a necessary (though

painful) inquiry to see if this Antichrist be yet come, or if we must look for another.

But because some have stretched the notion of antichristianism so far, that things harmless and innocent come within its compass ; and others have so much contracted it, that they might escape free ; we are to take a view of the nature and designs of the Christian religion, and to conclude from that, what must be antichristianism : it being not only a bare contradiction to some branches or parts of the Gospel, (for then every error or heresy were antichristianism) but a design and entire complex, of such opinions and practices, as are contradictory to, and subversive of the power and life of Christianity : and if we find any such thing to be broached and received into the world, we may, with the least hazard of uncharitableness, pronounce it to be antichristianism ; and if it be acted or animated by any head, he may be concluded Antichrist.

The designs of the Christian religion run betwixt these four heads : the first is, to give us right apprehensions of the nature and attributes of God, that we may conceive aright of him, and adore him suitably to his nature, and according to his will, and thereby be admitted to a free converse with him, and become partakers of the divine nature. How little of God was known by the twinklings of nature's light, even to the better and wiser part of the world, Tully's books of the nature of the Gods do sufficiently inform us. But if the philosophers were so much to seek in it, what shall we expect from the vulgar ? And indeed, Homer's "Iliads," and Ovid's "Metamorphoses," were wretched systems of divinity ; and yet such, and such like, were the sentiments of the nations about the Godhead. It is true, the seed of Abraham were delivered from that darkness, and knew God by his name Jehovah, and had laws and ordinances given them by God ; yet their worship was so carnal, and did so strike upon, and affect the senses, that we will be soon satisfied it was not so sublime and free as became the spirituality of the divine nature, and so was only fitted for the infancy of the people of God ; but by Christ the mystery that lay hid from ages and generations, was revealed ; for he declared the Father and revealed him, and taught us to renounce idols and vanities, and to serve the living God, commanding all men every where to repent, the times of ignorance wherein God winked at idolatry, being then over. That so mankind being God's offspring, might feel after him, and not worship him any more in the blinding grossness of idolatry,

but in a pure spiritual manner ; and whereas the law came by Moses, by Christ came grace and truth—grace in opposition to the severity of the law ; and truth, as opposed (not to falsehood) but to the figures and shadows of Moses's law ; and therefore God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, in opposition to the carnal ordinances, and typical rites, which shadowed out the truth in the law.

The second branch of the Christian religion is, to hold forth the method of man's reconciliation with his Maker. For the sense of all mankind agrees in this ; that sin is an indignity done God, which deserveth punishment, and cannot be expiated by any service man can do : it was therefore necessary there should be a mean found for encouraging sinners to embrace a religious life ; of which all had reason to despair, without pardon were offered to penitents, upon the change of their lives. Now this was what the heathen could not dream how to procure : it is true, the Jews had sacrifices for expiating of sin, but these could never quiet their consciences, since the common sense of mankind tells, that the blood of beasts cannot appease God. The mystery therefore of the reconciliation of sinners to God, is the proper character of the Christian religion ; which holds forth to us how the Eternal Word was made man, and endured unspeakable sufferings for the sins of men, even to the death of the cross ; and was raised up by God, and carried to heaven, where he is vested with all power and authority, and by the merits of his death hath a right to grant pardon, give grace, and confer eternal life on all that believe on him ; by whom God conveys all things to us, and through whom we are to offer up all our worship to God, he being the mediator betwixt God and man.

The third head of the Christian religion, is to teach the perfectest, clearest, and most divine rules, for advancing of the souls of men to the highest perfection of their natures. It is true, noble pieces of morality were acknowledged and taught by the heathen philosophers ; and the books of the Old Testament have the doctrine of virtue, purity, humility, and meekness laid open very fully ; but without derogating from these, it must be acknowledged, that as the doctrine of Christianity teaches all these precepts with clearer rules, and fuller directions ; so they were in it recommended by the example of its author, backed with the strongest motives, and enforced with the greatest arguments. In these are the lessons of purity, chastity, ingenuity, humility, meekness, patience, and gene-

rosity ; so clearly laid down, and so fully evinced, that no man, who is so much a man as to love those things whereby his mind may be improved to all that is truly great and noble, but must be enamoured of the Christian religion, as soon as he is taught it.

The fourth design of religion is, to unite mankind in the closest bonds of peace, friendship, and charity, which it doth not only by the rules prescribed for the tempering our passions, forgiving of injuries, and loving our enemies, and by the doctrine of obedience to those in authority over us ; but likewise by associating us into one body, called the Church ; wherein we are to worship God jointly, and to be coupled in one by the use of the sacraments, which are the ligaments of this body.

Having thus viewed the great designs of the Christian religion in the several branches and parts thereof, I shall add to this the main distinguishing characters of our religion, which are also four.

The first is, its verity ; that it is not founded on the tattles of persons concerned, nor on the reveries of dotards, nor received with a blind credulity, being founded on the authority of the great God, which appeared visibly in those that published it, chiefly in the person of Jesus Christ, who by his miracles that were wrought in sight of all the people, even his enemies looking on, and not being able to deny them, but chiefly by his resurrection from the dead, was declared to be the Son of God, which was seen and known by many, who followed not cunningly devised fables, but were the eye-witnesses of his majesty, who went in his name, and published it to the world, confirming it by miracles and mighty wonders, attesting it, notwithstanding all the persecutions they met with, most of them confirming it with their blood : and this doctrine was received and believed by the better part of mankind, though it being contrary to all the interests of the flesh, whose mortification it teacheth, its reception cannot be imputed to credulity or interest.

The second character of our religion is, its genuine simplicity and perspicuity, that all its doctrines and rules are clearly and distinctly held out to us, not like the heathen divinity, much whereof lay in dark oracles in the books of the sybils. and in other pretended mysteries, which none but the priests might handle and expound. The Jewish religion was also veiled with types and figures, so that it was not easy to

see the substance and truth through all those foldings and shadows. But the glory of the Christian religion, as to this particular, is nobly laid out by St. Paul, in these words, 2 Cor. iii. 18, "But we all with open face, as in a glass, beholding the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord."

The third character is, the reasonableness of the Christian religion, it containing none of these absurd incredible things, which abounded among the heathens ; nor of these rites of Judaism, the reasons whereof, besides the will of God in enjoining them, could not be assigned ; but both the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion are fitted for mankind, and so congenial to his nature, that they well deserve the designation of "reasonable service," or rational worship, God having made our souls and them of a piece.

And the fourth character of our religion is, its easiness ; "Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden light."—Mat. xi. 30. Wherein we are freed from all the barbarous and cruel rites of Gentilism, and from the oppressive bondage of Judaism, which was a law of ordinances, and a yoke that our fathers were not able to bear ; but that we are called to by Christ, is so simple, so easy and so plain, that well may we say, "his commandments are not grievous."—1 John v. 3.

Having given this hint of the design and characters of the Christian religion, I hold it not necessary to dwell on a further deduction of those generals into more particular branches, nor to make this scheme of religion good by any longer proof, the position I have laid down being so obvious to the reason of every considering person ; wherefore I go on to examine, if there be any such system of doctrines or opinions among pretenders to Christianity, which tends to the overthrowing and enervating of this whole design, and whose characters are directly opposite to these I have mentioned ; and the less avowed, and the more disguised that society be, as it is more likely to prevail, since error and vice are not so formidable in their own colours, as when veiled with the pretences of truth and virtue : so it will better agree with that great character the prophecies give of this defection, that it was a "Mystery, and had Mystery on its forehead."—Rev. xvii. 15.

And here remains the sad part of my discourse ; for what lover of mankind can, with pleasure, either satisfy his own reason, or convince the judgment of others, in a matter, the issue whereof is to prove so great a part of the Christian

societies to be antichristian and adulterate ? and certainly, if my love to truth, and the honour of my Redeemer and his Gospel, and by consequence a zeal for souls, did not engage me to this search, I could easily quit the task, and choose more easy and pleasant subjects for the exercise of my thoughts ; but the wisdom of God having declared it a part of wisdom to observe the characters of the Antichristian beast, I therefore, though not without pain, engage in the survey of it.

And first, in the entry it will be a bad omen, of no good to be expected from any society that shall study to keep her members in ignorance, and to bar them the study of the Holy Scriptures, which being the revelation of the whole counsel of God, and written by plain and simple men, and at first directed to the use of the rude illiterate vulgar, for teaching them the mysteries of Godliness, and the path of life ; it is a shrewd indication, that if any studied to hide this light under a candlestick, and to keep it in an unknown tongue, or forbid the body of Christians the use of it (though its native tendency be to enlighten the understanding, and inflame the will, it being given out by God for that end), that those must be conscious to themselves of great deformity to that rule, and apprehend that if it were more known their doctrine would be less believed, especially since the hardest part of the Scriptures are the writings of the Old Testament : and yet these were communicated to all of that dispensation, who were commanded by Christ to search them, and who did educate their children in them, continuing that holy care to a high degree, even to this day. Now, except it be said that it is fitter all be kept under darkness in the new dispensation than it was in the old, no account can be given, for the zeal is used in any Church to keep their children in such ignorance ; and yet this is a part of the distinguishing characters of the new dispensation from the old, that light had appeared in it. Now all may know how guilty those of Rome are in this : what pains are taken to detract from the authority of the Scriptures : how they quarrel, sometimes its darkness, sometimes its ambiguousness, sometimes the genuineness of its originals, and always complain of its being too much perused, and therefore let as little of it be put in vulgar tongues as can be ; read it publicly in an unknown tongue, and permit no private person the use of it without allowance from his confessor : of which, though in some places the Reformation hath made them more liberal, yet where there is no hazard of that, they

betray their aversion for the Scriptures too palpably in all their writings and discourses.

But now to pursue my design more closely, I must call to mind the first branch of the Christian religion, which teacheth how God is to be worshipped in a pure and spiritual way ; and see how far this is contradicted. And here I must consider the idolatry of the Gentiles, which was of two kinds : the one was, when the true God was worshipped in a false manner ; the other was, when divine adoration was offered to those who were no gods. Of the first I shall reckon two kinds ; the first was, when an image or figure was erected for representing the Diety to the senses, and adoration offered to God through it : in which case, though perhaps the herd did formally worship the image, yet their philosophers declared they meant these only for exciting the senses and imagination, and not for being worshipped ; much less that the Diety should be conceived like unto them, as we find both in Celsus, Julian, and Maximus Tyrius. Now this form of adoration is contrary both to the Divine essence and command : for God must either be conceived like such an image, or not. If like to it, then a great indignity is done to the divine nature, greater than if a toad or a worm were set out as the image of a king, to have civil reverence paid to it ; since he is of his own essence incomprehensible and invisible, and so hath no shape or figure. In a word, it abases our thoughts of God when we figure him to ourselves. But if we conceive God not like such an image, then why is it used, except to be a snare to the vulgar, who will be ready to think God like unto it ? and certain it is, that whatever the more refined or abstracted wits may conceive of these images, yet the vulgar offer up their adorations directly to them, and conceive God to be like unto them.

This worship is also contrary to the divine precept, who made it one of the ten commandments, which himself delivered to his people, Exod. xx. 4, that no graven image, nor likeness, should be made to be worshipped. And the reason given shews the law to be perpetual, for God is ever jealous of the glory due to him. Now what kindness those of Rome have to this command, may be guessed by their striking it out of their catechisms, as if it were only an appendix of the first : but if we read the whole Old Testament, it will furnish us with large discoveries of God's displeasure at this kind of worship, to which the Jews were so inclinable ; "But God would not give his praise to graven images," Isa. xlvi. 8.

Now here it is to be remembered, that the Jewish dispensation was low and carnal, when compared to that to which we are called: if, then, this worship was not allowed of to them, it is much less to be allowed of among Christians.

Another part of the false worship of the heathens was, that they believed the Deity and divine power was, by mystical and magical ways, affixed to some bodies, as the sun or stars are; or to some temples, and to some Ancilia and Palladia, which they believed came down from heaven, Acts xix. 35, to which they held God to be present and adherent, and therefore worshipped them. And of kin to this was the Israelites' worshipping the calf in the wilderness, Exod. xxxii. ; for it is clear they looked on it as their God, who had brought them out of Egypt, therefore could not possibly be adoring the Egyptian god that was an ox; but the feast that was to Jehovah, and the Psalm cvi. verse 20, that says, "they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox," do shew that they worshipped the true God, though in a false manner. Neither is it to be imagined that Aaron the prophet and saint of the Lord, though very guilty in this matter, could for all that be so criminal as to make a false god: but the most satisfying account of his fault is, that when he saw God in the mount, Exod. xxiv. 10, God appeared in that figure that was afterwards in the most holy place, which was to be framed after the pattern seen in the mount. And if so, then God appeared between the cherubims; now the figure of a cherub was the same with that of a calf in its hinder parts, Ezek. i. 7. And if we compare verse 10 of that chap. with Ezek. x. 14, what in the first place is called the face of an ox, is in the second called the face of a cherub, which tells us clearly what was the figure of a cherub. And therefore Aaron, seeing the people desired a sensible symbol of God's presence among them, he made choice of that he had seen in the mount about the Divine glory; and yet all that did not excuse his fault in the sight of God.

In like manner, after the tabernacle and temple were set up, wherein were the cherubims, when Jeroboam revolted he set up calves, 1 Kings xii. 28, 29, as is probable upon the same account, but no doubt continued in all points the worship of the true God, as it was at Jerusalem, as might be proved from many particulars; but the sin wherewith he made Israel to sin, was the worshipping of the true God by a false symbol. The like account is to be given of the idolatry of Gideon's ephod,

Judges vii. 27. And of the worshipping the brazen serpent, 2 Kings xviii. 4, where certainly the true God was adored, and yet the people went a whoring from him in that worship.

And here the title of whoredom, given to idolatry so often in the Old Testament, is to be considered; the importance whereof is, that God, by covenanting with his people, is married to them, to be their God; and the conjugal duty they owe him, is adoration: when, therefore, other creatures have any share of that bestowed upon them, spiritual whoredom is committed.

Now how sad the application of this to the Christian Church must be, all may judge, who know how great a part of Christendom worship God by images; and how the adored and incomprehensible Trinity is painted as an old man with a child in his arms, and a dove over the child's head; "though no man hath seen the Father at any time." John vi. 46. And the Son, as God, can no more be represented by an image, than the Father; and the Holy Ghost, though once appearing in the symbolical representation of a dove, cannot, without idolatry, be represented and worshipped under that figure. Neither can any apology be offered for this, which could not, with the same reason, have cleared both Jews and Gentiles of idolatry. And whatever more abstracted minds may think of these images, yet none that considers the simplicity of the vulgar, the frailty of man, and his inclination to apprehend all things as sensible, can doubt but that the rabble do really conceive of God as like these figures, and do plainly worship them. It is further to be considered, that though the Son of God was man, yet as man he is not to be worshipped; and therefore the setting out of figures and statues for his human nature (which by the way are no real adumbrations, but only the fancies of painters), and worshipping these as the images of the Son of God, is no less idolatry than to worship the Father as an old man.

And further, the worship of the mass is idolatry, as evidently as any piece of Gentilism ever was. For if it be certain that Christ is not in the host, which shall be afterwards made out, then to adore him as there, must be idolatrous. Neither will it serve for excuse, to say that Christ is truly worshipped as present; and if he be not there, it is only a mistake about the presence, but no idolatry can be committed, the worship being offered to a proper object, who is God. But if this apology free them of idolatry, it will also clear those heathens who worshipped some statues or creatures, in which they conceived

God was present ; so that they might have pleaded it was the great and true God they adored, believing him there present, as their fathers had formerly believed. But he were very gentle to idolaters, who upon such a plea would clear them of that crime. What then is to be said of that Church, that holds it the greatest piece of her religion to adore the bread with the same devotion they would pay to Christ were he visibly present ; who call the bread God, carry it about in processions, and worship it with all the solemnity imaginable. And finally, the worship they give the cross is likewise an adoring of God under a symbol and representation. And thus we have seen the parallel of Rome-heathen and Rome-Christian runs but too just.

But the next kind of the heathens' idolatry, was their worshipping of others beside God, whom they held of two ranks. Some that were so pure, that they never dwelt in bodies. Others they judged to be the souls of deceased men, after their death acknowledged and honoured with divine honour. And this kind of idolatry was first begun at Babylon, where Ninus made the statue of his father Belus be set up, and worshipped it. And from him all these lesser gods were called Belim or Baslim. Now concerning these, the heathens believed that they were certain intermedial powers that went betwixt God and men, by whom all good things were conveyed to mortals, by whom also our services were offered to the gods. Thus the nations had "gods many, and lords many," 1 Cor. viii. 5. And these lesser deities, or daemons, they adored, by erecting statues to them about their burial places, where they built temples for them and worshipped them. And from this hint of Babylon's being the mother of this kind of idolatry, we may guess why the apostasy of that city which, in St. John's days, "did reign over the kingdoms of the earth," Rev. xvii. 18, is shadowed forth under the name of Babylon ; to hold out that the corruption it was to fall into, was to be of a kind with that begun in Babylon ; and the character of a whore doth likewise agree well with this.

Now if we compare with this the worship of angels and saints in the Roman Church, we shall find the parity just and exact. For after the conversion of the Roman empire, it is not to be denied, but that in order to the gaining of the heathen world to a compliance with Christianity, the Christians did, as near as was possible, accommodate themselves to the heathenish customs. And, therefore, instead of their gods, they set up

the demon and Baal-worship to the Apostles and other saints and martyrs, which Theodoret doth most ingenuously acknowledge to have been set in the stead of their gods. They became afterwards so exact in the parallel, that as the heathens had of these lesser gods for every nation, so there was a saint appointed for every nation: St. Andrew for Scotland, St. George for England, St. Patrick for Ireland, and many more for other nations. And as every house among the heathens had their household god, so every person was taught to have a tutelar saint and angel. And as among the heathen there were gods for all trades, for all sicknesses, and for every virtue; so in antichristianism there were saints for every disease, for every profession, and for all the graces. And as the heathens built temples for them, so did also Babylonish Rome. And here an odd remark is in my way of this conformity, that the Pantheon at Rome dedicated, in Augustus's time, to Cybele the mother of the gods, and to all the gods, was afterwards consecrated to the Virgin and all the saints. And as the heathens offered prayers, made vows, observed days, brought presents, used processions in honour to these lesser gods, and worshipped their statues and images; so all this by degrees crept into Rome-Christian, as might be branched out in more particulars than the nature of so short a discourse will allow of. It is true, the worship of images came not in before the eighth century; but after that time it engaged all that received it into a high degree of madness for advancing that heathenish piece of worship. And shall I here tell what is known to all who have seen the forms of that Church? How you shall find their churches all over-dressed up with images and statues, gorgeously apparelled and well adorned; where the poor vulgar are lying prostrate before them, saying their devotions, and perhaps washing the feet of their shrines with their tears, and with great affection kissing the hem of their garments. And if, through the tricks of the priest, the image seem to nod or smile on them (which is not unfrequent) with what joy do they go away, as if some angel had saluted them from heaven. And here it were too long to reckon up the abominations of this saint-worship which are offered to the Virgin, with the blasphemous titles given her, and prayers made to her; "as if she were more merciful and gentle to sinners than her blessed Son. What shall I tell of the whole Psalms turned to her?" The words of Goddess and Lady being put in the place of God and Lord. And that from the eleventh century, in which the form of the num-

bering their prayers by beads was begun, ten go to the Virgin for one to God. How many more worship her than do her Son ? How many more churches are built to her than to her Son ? And how many pilgrimages are made to her shrines and reliques ? And thus I think little doubting will remain, that the worship of the Baalim begun at Babylon, is now set up in the Christian Rome.

Now how contrary this is to the divine nature, common reason may suggest ; as also to the exaltation of the person of Christ, Isa. xlvi. 8. "God is a jealous God, and will not give his glory to another." We have but "one Lord Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. viii. 6, who by his most precious blood shed for us, purchased the honour of being mediator betwixt God and man. And, therefore, Christians ought only to make mention of his name. Beside, the great evil of idolatry is, that it debases the soul of the profane worshipper, "for like them are all they that trust in them," Psal. cxv. 8. It leads away the mind from that inward, free, and spiritual converse and fellowship with God, to which the Gospel invites us, and carries it out into an external, sensible, and dead religion. It stifles the power of true piety, making it die out in formal and stupifying superstition. And the plagues which heaven pours out on those ungodly worshippers are heavy and great. A black roll of them is in the end of the first chapter to the Romans, which were the consequences on their not glorifying of God as God, which is branched out into the two kinds I have discoursed of. The first is, ver. 23, "They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man," &c. And the second is, ver. 25, "Who worshipped and served the creature more than (or besides) the Creator." And it would raise horror in sober minds, to tell how much the sin of the flesh, particularly the sin of Sodom, which is first reckoned in that dismal catalogue, abounds with these of this spiritual Babylon.

And will the poor distinctions of Dulia and Latria save them from this guilt ? Alas ! these are parts of the mystery by which they would veil their abominations ; but their nakedness is not hid with this thin veil. For we see how simply all religious worship offered to creatures displeased God. Neither did the prophets tell the Israelites, that a kind of worship called Dulia, or service, might be payed to creatures : but the Latria, or adoration, was only proper to God ! indeed they dreamed not of this subtlety. "And when St. John offered to fall down before the angel he warns him not to do it, as being not only

his fellow-creature, but his fellow-servant," Rev. xix. 10, by which all that prostration for worship is declared unlawful. And what can be called adoration, if to offer prayers, to make vows, to sing hymns, to observe days, and to build churches, be not such? These nice distinctions which the schoolmen have devised, will serve in no stead in the great day, when God's jealousy shall burn like fire against all that have dis-honoured him by this profane worshipping of creatures. And it is certain, that however some speculative people may have distinct notions of these kinds of worship, yet the vulgar, in their practice, make no difference at all, but place all their trust in them, fly to them in their troubles as to their refuge and stronghold; whereby that faith and confidence, which is only due to God and his Son, is abated, so much of it being bestowed on creatures. And what a baseness of mind doth it discover for men to whom God hath revealed so much of the riches of his grace, and hath allowed constant and free access to his throne, with the largest encouragements and assurances of being heard and accepted by him; and who hath given mankind a mediator, who in the likeness of our flesh did express the greatest and freest love imaginable, dying for us, and being now our advocate and intercessor with his Father; that instead of conversing immediately with God and Christ in the exercises of devotion, we should betake ourselves to a dead and lifeless invoking of those, of whose hearing us we can have no assurance, and in which there can be no comfort nor true joy found.

So much of the object of worship. The manner of it is next to be considered. We observed before, that God called us in the Gospel to a lively and spiritual worship; and this was first in opposition to the sorceries of the Gentile worship, and next to the heavy yoke of the Jewish bondage. How much of sorcery and enchantments was used in heathenism, every one that gives account of their forms do mention; but indeed all they used was nothing, if compared with the enchantments of the Roman Church; and, first of all, can any thing look liker a charm than the worshipping God in an unknown tongue? in which the worshipper is capable of no converse with God by these parts of worship, which he doth not understand. Next, the muttering so large portions of the worship, chiefly in the office of the mass, what doth it look like but the mumbling of a charm? But shall I here tell of "the charming of water, of salt, of wax-candles, for driving away of devils?" Shall I next tell of "the christening of bells, the hallowing of oil, the touch-

ing of beads, the touching of little pebbles ;” which shall have a virtue against sickness of all kinds, thunders and lightnings, and temptations of the devil. Shall I next tell of the consecrating roses, Agnus Dei’s, medals, and the like ? Or shall I tell of their exorcisms and charms for driving out devils, with all the strange actions used in them ? Shall I mention the relics, and all the virtues believed to be in them, yea, and derived from them ? Shall I mention their privileged altars, their jubilees, the prayers upon which indulgences are granted, their solemn processions, together with all the small tricks that are used in every part of their worship ? All this would be endless. These things cannot but eat out the power of religion, and introduce a dry and empty skeleton of enchanted actions, instead of that lively image of God which the Christian religion designs to restore in us.

In a word, shall I tell how the sacramental actions are polluted by the superfetation of so many new rites ? whereby they are wholly changed from their original simplicity.

In baptism, instead of washing with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; how have they added so many adulterated rites ? The child must be thrice blown upon, then a charm used for turning the devil out of him ; he must be anointed with holy oil, and hallowed salt must be put in his mouth, sanctified garments also must be put on him, and a holy wax-candle in his hand, and the priest’s spittle must be gently stroked upon him. Whether doth all this look like the simplicity of the spouse of Christ, or the attire of the harlot ?

And in the other sacrament, a great deal more ado is made ; so that any indifferent spectator, who were not warned of it, would swear it were a solemn piece of pageantry ; the priest must come in clothed with rich embroidered vestments, then he goes to the altar, sometimes reads on the one side, then he turns to the other : often he bows, and kisses, and crosses, sometimes single, sometimes thrice repeated crosses : most of the office he mutters, though what he says is all alike understood, being in an unknown tongue : sometimes he turns to the people, and gives them a short barbarian benediction : then he goes on till he comes to the five wonder-working words : and then instead of the bread, which the force of these words hath driven to nothing, behold a God, to be worshipped by the spectators. And after the adoration, the God is to be devoured by the priest, which made the Arabian say, “ He never saw a sect

of religion so foolish as the Christians were, who with their teeth devoured the God they had adored."

Certainly all this looks so like a piece of extravagance, especially if the simplicity of the first institution be considered, that many will doubt if it be possible that such worship can be received in any corner of the Christian world. And by these hints, though an hundred more might be instanced, let it be guessed what is become of the simplicity of the Christian religion, when it is so vitiated in all the parts and branches of it ; and whether that genuine sincere spirituality appear in it which the Gospel holds forth to the world ? These things having a native tendency for leading away the soul from attending upon God, in her acts of worship, which is the only thing for which external worship is to be continued in, that in it we may jointly concur to converse with our Maker. If from this I should reckon up all the tricks are used in secreter worship, what stories should I tell of the pattering over the beads, of the multiplying little unintelligible prayers, the using of penances, some whereof are ridiculous for their gentleness, and others of them are as formidable for their horror, and fitter for the priests of Baal, or the worshippers of Diana Taurica, than for those that worship the living God with joy and gladness of heart ? Now by the performance of these, the simple deluded people imagine themselves reconciled to God, and secured from his wrath, and so go about them merely in the opinion of a charm.

But I must next shew how the multiplicity of the Jewish rites was also brought in upon Christendom, though Christ came to set us at liberty from that pedagogy, which was made up of ordinances and lifeless precepts, that could not make the doer thereof perfect ; nothing being enjoined in the Christian religion but that which was of itself easy and proper for the great design of purifying our souls. Now such as have brought in a yoke of ordinances that have no tendency to the cleansing of our souls, but oppress us with their tyrannical burdensomeness, being both heavy and numerous, must be looked on as the introducers of a new Judaism, for oppressing the Christian world. What a heap of new superadded forms have the high priests of Rome brought upon those who stoop to their tyranny ? And how much sanctity do they place in them ; enjoining severer censures on the violation of these, than on the greatest transgressions against either the moral or positive laws of God ? How many holy days have they instituted ? How much distinction of meats, of fasting, and abstinence ? And how like

are their jubilees and pilgrimages to the jubilees and yearly trotting up to Jerusalem, which was among the Jews? In a word, there is not a piece of worship about which there is not a greater appendage of vain, pompous, and withal burdensome ceremonies, than were among the Jews.

Shall I here mention the five superadded sacraments to the two instituted by Christ, with all the rites belonging to each of them, or recount all the rites in their multifarious ordinations? Shall I tell of the laying up the bodies when dead, and of the forms of their burials? The burning of lamps in the clearest day, together with the incense that perfumes the worship, which are clear pieces of antiquated Judaism. In a word, no part of the parallel holds more exactly, than that "they are zealous of the traditions of their fathers, whereby the commandments of God are made of none effect;" and "that they honour God with their lips, when their hearts are far from him;" and "worship Him in vain, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," Matth. xv. 8, 9.

And hitherto I have discoursed upon the first limb of Anti-christianism, and have discovered too evident indications of the contradictions in it to the first branch of the design of Christianity, whereby the worship of God is partly adulterated, and partly smothered by a heavy and troublesome load of useless and lifeless performances, which must needs lead out the soul from an inward attending on God, or free converse with him.

The second branch of Christianity is, the holding forth that mysterious contrivance of the wisdom and goodness of God, for reconciling the world to himself, by his dear Son, whom he gave to the death for us, and also raised up, making him both Lord and Christ, whose glory and dignity is vulgarly branched out in these his three offices, of Prophet, Priest, and King.

By the first of which, he revealed the Father, and his whole counsel to mankind, in plain and simple discourses, afterwards committed to writing by the faithful eye and ear witnesses of his majesty. His prophetic office therefore is chiefly acknowledged in our grateful receiving these discoveries, and our studying to adjust both our faith and practice to that unerring rule. But can any thing be more contradictory to this than to keep the knowledge of these writings from Christians, to accuse their darkness and defects, and to apprehend great danger from their diligent perusal, to vilify that sacred study, preferring the lame and lifeless discourses of men, to the words of eternal wisdom? For we must consider that our study of

the Gospel is of the same nature with a personal following of Christ when on earth, to see his miracles, and hear his doctrine ; the same is also to be said of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles. Now to bar the vulgar from this, is to hinder them to hear and see Christ and his Apostles, as if that were a privilege restricted to churchmen. What shall be then said of these who call the Scriptures a nose of wax, the source of all heresies, a book written not on design, but upon particular emergents, and do assert its incompleteness, unless made up by the traditions of the Church ? Is not this to add to the words of that book, and to accuse the faithful witness of unfaithfulness ? But worse than all this is held by these, who will have all the authority of the Scriptures to depend on the Church, which must be believed in the first place.

But here a great difference is to be made betwixt the testimony of a witness, and the authority of a judge ; the former is not denied to the Church, and so the Jews had the oracles of God committed to them : but that doth not prove the authority of their Sanhedrim infallible, or superior to Scripture ; and in this case more cannot be ascribed to the Christian Church, than was proper to the Jewish in our Saviour's time. But further, if the Scripture be to be believed on the testimony of the Church, then upon what account is the Church first believed ? It cannot be said, because of any testimony in Scripture, for if it gave authority to the Scriptures, it cannot receive its authority from their testimony. How then shall it be proved that the Church must be believed ? or must it be taken from their own word ? And yet no other reason can be given to prove the Church infallible. For to say that they have continued in a succession of bishops from the Apostles' days, concludes nothing, unless it be first proved that the doctrine of the Apostles was of God ; otherwise the Mahometan religion is as much to be believed, since for many ages a succession of priests have believed it. Further, the Greek Churches drive up the series of their bishops to the Apostles' days, as well as the Roman ; why then should not their authority be likewise acknowledged infallible ? In fine, must the vulgar go and examine the successions of the bishops, and judge about all the dubious elections, whether the conveyance have been interrupted or not ? Certainly were this to be done, it were an impossible achievement, and harder than the study of the originals of both Testaments : therefore the vulgar must simply believe the authority of the Church on her own testimony

which is the most absurd thing imaginable, and this to every individual, will resolve into the testimony of their priest. Behold them a goodly foundation for building our faith upon!

Christ's prophetic office is also invaded, by pretence of the Church's infallibility in expounding Scriptures; for if this be granted, the whole authority will be devolved on the Church; for by this doctrine she may teach what she will; and were the Scripture evidence never so full to the contrary; yet whatever wrested exposition she offers, though visibly contrary to the plain meaning of the words, must be believed. But with whom this power and authority is lodged, is not agreed to among themselves; some yielding it to the high-priest of the Church, when in his chair; others to the great Sanhedrim of Christendom in a general council; others to both jointly. But all this is asserted without proof; for that of Christ's of telling the Church, Matth. xviii. 17, so often repeated by them, is meant of particular offences, and so is restricted to the case of differences among brethren, and relates not to points of doctrine. Besides, the context of these words doth clearly shew them applicable to every parochial church, and yet their infallibility cannot be asserted. So it is clear, that Christ doth only speak of a jurisdiction for quieting of differences among brethren.

That of the gates of hell, their not prevailing against the Church, Matt. xvi. 18, proves not the pretence of infallibility. And indeed the translation of that place deserves amendment, and instead of hell, that word is to be rendered grave; so that the meaning of the phrase is, death (which is the mouth and gate through which we pass into the grave, and is so used by Greek writers) shall never prevail against the Church; that is, the Church shall never die.

Neither will that of "the Spirit of Truth leading into all truth," John xvi. 13, advance the cause a whit, since that promise relates to all believers; and it is a part of the happiness of the new dispensation, that all in it should be taught of God. And the promise of "founding the Church on St. Peter," Matt. xvi., saith as little; for suppose the rock on whom the Church was to be built, were St. Peter himself, which I shall not much controvert; that is not peculiar unto him, since "we are all built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets;" and on the "twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem are written the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb." But what will that prove for a series of the bishops of Rome?

And finally, "for the keys of the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xvi. 19, their being given to St. Peter; that saith no more, but that he was to open the Gospel, which is usually called "the kingdom of God, or of heaven," in the New Testament. Now the use of keys being to open the door, this was peculiar to St. Peter's honour, who did first publish the Gospel both to Jews and Gentiles, and in particular did first receive the Gentiles into the new dispensation. But this hath no relation to the bishops of Rome, nor to the pretended infallibility of that See.

That which hath the fairest appearance of reason is, that if there be no absolute unerring court on earth, for deciding of controversies, there shall be no end of them; but every private man may, upon the pretence of some ill-understood place of Scripture, break the unity of the Church, and so the peace of the Church is in hazard of being irrecoverably lost. But how specious soever this may appear, it hath no weight in it: for it is certain, that vice, as well as error, is destructive of religion, and it will be no imputation on our religion, that the one be no more guarded against than the other is; if then there be no authority for repressing vice, but the outward discipline of the Church, it is not incongruous there is no other authority for suppressing of error, but that same of the discipline of the Church. It is certainly a piece of humility for a man to suspect his own thoughts, when they lie cross to the sentiments of the guides and leaders of the Church: but withal, a man ought to be in all he does, "fully persuaded in his own mind;" and we are commanded "to try the spirits, and not to believe every spirit," 1 John iv. 1. Now reason being the chief excellency of man, and that wherein the divine image doth mainly consist, it were very absurd to deny man a rational judging and discerning of these things, wherein his eternal interest is most concerned. Besides, the nature of religion, it being a thing suitable to the powers of the soul, shews that a man must have a conviction of the truth of it on his mind, and that he cannot be bound in contradiction to his own apprehensions, to receive any opinions merely upon the testimony of others.

If to confirm all this, I should add all that can be brought from history for proving General Councils to have erred in matters of faith; or that Popes have been heretics, or that they have been anathematized as such by other Popes and General

Councils, I shall be too tedious. But in the end, how shall the vulgar know the definitions of Councils, or the decrees of Popes ? Or must they be blindly determined by the priest's assertion ? Certainly, this were to expose them to the greatest hazards, since they are not suffered to found their faith upon the Scriptures : nor doth the Church reveal her doctrines to them, so that their faith must be resolved upon the bare testimony of a priest, who is perhaps both ignorant and licentious. And by this we may judge to what a pass the souls of the people are brought by this doctrine.

In a word, "we are not the servants of men," nor bound to their authority ; for none can be a judge, but where he hath the power both to try and to coerce. Now, none but God can either search our hearts, or change them ; for as no human power can know our thoughts, so neither can it turn them, which are not in our own power, much less in the power of others ; therefore, our consciences can, and must only fall within God's jurisdiction : and since the renovation of the image of God consists in knowledge, and religion designs an union of our souls to divine truth, that we may freely converse with it, it will follow, that all these pretences of absolute authority and infallibility in teaching, are contrary to Christ's prophetic office, who came "to reveal the Father to us."

The second of Jesus Christ's offices, was the priestly, without which the former had never been effectual ; for had we known never so perfectly the will of God, without a method had been laid down for reconciling sinners to him, it was in vain to think of religion, since nothing sinners could do was able to appease God, or expiate sin ; but this was fully done by the sacrifice of that Lamb of God, "Who became sin for us, and bare our sins in his own body ; in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins through his blood." 2 Cor. v. 21 ; 1 Pet ii. 24 ; Eph. i. 7. If then any have derogated from the value of this satisfaction, they have offered the utmost indignity to the highest love, and committed the crime of the greatest ingratitude imaginable ; who would requite the most inconceivable love with such a sacrilegious attempt. But how guilty are they of this, who would set the merits and works of men in an equality with the blood of God ? as if by these we were justified, or owed our title to glory, to our own performances ; whereas we are taught by the oracles of God, that "by grace we are saved, that God only hath made the difference between us and others ; and that he hath freely chosen

us in his Son Christ Jesus," Eph. ii. 5, 1 Cor. iv. 7. And alas! what are we, or what is all we do, that it can pretend to the lowest degree of God's acceptance, without he freely both help us in it, and accept of us for it? so that when he rewards us for our services with eternal life, he freely crowns his own free gifts to us. For when we consider how great a disproportion there is betwixt our best services and eternal glory; when we also remember how all our good actions flow from the principles of divine grace freely given, but withal, reflect on the great defects and imperfections that hang about our best performances, we will not be able to entertain any thoughts of our meriting ought at the hands of God. And certainly, the deeper impressions we have, either of the evil of sin, or the goodness of God, we will be further from the capacity of swelling big in our own thoughts, or of claiming any thing on the pretensions of justice or debt. It is true, this doctrine of merit is so explained by some of that Church, that there remains no ground of quarrelling it, except for the term's sake, which is indeed odious and improper (though early used by the ancients in an innocent sense). But many of that Church acknowledge, there can be no obligation on God by our works, but that which his own promise binds upon him, which none, who believe the truth of the promises of the Gospel, can question; yet still we must remember, that we owe all to the love of Jesus, and nothing to ourselves; which, as it is the matter of the hallelujahs of glorified saints, so should be the subject of our daily acknowledgments; wherefore, we must abominate every thing that may seem to detract from this. But alas! were all this zeal, many of that communion own for merits and good works, meant for the advancing a holy and spiritual life, it would carry a good apology with it, and its noble design would very much qualify the severity of its censure; but when these good works, which for so many ages were highly magnified, were the building of churches, the enriching of abbeys, pilgrimages, and other trifling and voluntary pieces of will-worship, advanced for the secular interests of the Church, what shall be said of all that pains was used by the monks for advancing them, but that they were willing to sell the value of the blood and merits of Christ, for advancing their own secular interests and devised practices? Alas! how far are these from that holiness and sanctity which must qualify us for the kingdom of God, and the inheritance of the saints?

And to end this matter, let me add one thing, which is most

evident to all who have observed the methods of the directors of consciences in that Church ; that with whatever distinctions this matter be varnished over among them, yet the vulgar do really imagine they buy and sell with Almighty God, by their undergoing these laws of the Church, and penances imposed by their confessor, which, as it nourishes the life of pride and self-love, so it detracts from the value they ought to set on the blood of Christ, as their only title to heaven and glory.

And to this I must add, that distinction of the “temporal and eternal punishments” sin deserves : the latter whereof they acknowledge are removed by the blood of Christ ; but the former must be expiated by ourselves, either by sufferings in this life, or those we must endure in purgatory, unless by the Pope’s charity we be delivered from them. Now, how contrary this is to the value we are taught to set on the blood of Christ, all may judge. Eph. ii. 15, and v. 27. “By Christ peace is made, we are reconciled to God ; he represents us to the Father without spot or wrinkle.” And much more of this nature meeting us in Scripture, declares how plenary his satisfaction was, nothing being left undone by him for removing the guilt and demerit of sin. And what comfortless doctrine this is ; we may soon apprehend how it takes away that joy in God, at the approaches of death, since there is such hazard of direful miseries following. Now this was no small part of the mystery, by which the world was brought under their dominion ; and therefore great pains was taken for rooting the belief of it deep in all men’s hearts, many visions and apparitions were vouched for its proof ; and all the lives of the saints, that were written for divers ages, were full of such fabulous narrations ; some souls were said to be seen standing in burning brimstone to the knees, some to the middle, some to the chin ; others swimming in “cauldrons of melted metal,” and devils pouring the metal down their throats, with many such affrighting stories.

But for all this, the proof from Scripture was only drawn from one wrested place of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. iii 12, 13, 14, 15, who saith, “That in the day of the Lord, such as built upon the foundation of Christ, superstructures of wood, hay, and stubble, should be saved, because they kept the foundation, yet so as by fire.” But this was only a proverbial form of speech, to express the risk they run to be such, as of one that escapes out of a fire ; such proverbial speeches being usual in Scripture, as that of the Prophet, Zech. iii. 2 :—“Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire ?” Or of the

Apostle Jude, ver. 23, "And others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire." And any considering person will, at first view, see how slender a foundation this was for the superstructure built upon it.

But the way which was contrived for preserving souls from, or rescuing them out of purgatory, will discover what were the inducements of advancing the belief of it with such zeal, which was thus framed: it is believed by that Church, that beside the commands that necessarily oblige all Christians, there are many counsels in the Gospel, in order to the attaining a higher pitch of perfection, such as the counsels of poverty, and chastity, or the like; and they teach, that such as did not obey these, cannot be said to have sinned; but on the other hand, those who have obeyed them, shall not want a reward, by their so supererogating beyond what was strictly bound upon them, and the reward of them is their meriting both for themselves and others, an exemption from the pains of purgatory. And of all these merits, there is a common treasure of the Church; wherein, for good manners sake, the merit of Christ is the chief stock; and this is committed to the successors of St. Peter, to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven are believed to be given, who can communicate of that spiritual treasure as they will, either for preserving souls from purgatory, or for delivering them out of it. This could not but work wonders for the exaltation of the Papal dignity, when he was conceited to be honoured of God with so high a trust. This was also made an engine for advancing all the Papal designs; for upon any quarrel he had with any prince, the Pope proclaimed a croisade, promising exemption from purgatory to all who hazarded their lives for the service of the holy Church. And the contrivance of purgatory being universally believed, this could not fail to draw great numbers about his standards. And by this means, he brought most princes into that servile subjection to him, under which they groaned for many ages.

Another practice yet more base and sordid was, the selling of indulgences and pardons for money. Certainly here was Simon's crime committed by the pretended successors of him, who of old accused him, that thought the gift of God might be purchased with money; and thereupon did cast him out of the Church. It were endless to tell the base arts and blasphemous discourses of the monks who were sent through the world to sell their indulgences, which in the end proved fatal

to that Church, since the excessive magnifying of them did first provoke Luther to examine their corruptions. It is true, they will not hear of the harsh word of selling indulgences, but disguise it with their giving them to such as will offer alms to the Church ; but really, this whole contrivance is so base, so carnal, and so unlike the spirit of Christianity, that to repeat it, is to refute it. Here was a brave device for enriching the Church, when the making great donations to it, was judged so effectual for delivering out of purgatory. Who would not, out of love to his friend's soul, if he believed him frying in these flames, give liberally of his goods ; but much rather would a man give all that he had for his own security, especially when on his death-bed he were beset with persons who were confounding him with dismal apprehensions, and thus trafficking with him for the exchange of his soul. Hence sprung the enriching of abbeys and churches ; for every religious order hath its own peculiar merits, which they can communicate to any one of their fraternity : if then a dying man had gained their favour so much, that he was received into their order, and died wrapped in one of their frocks, then was his soul secure from the grim tormentors below. And what an endless heap of fables had they, of souls being on the brink, or in the midst of the flames, and of a sudden snatched out !

But now all this trade hath quite failed them, therefore indulgences are fallen in their rates, and instead of them, there are prayers to be used, and especially to be said before privileged altars, or at such times, or before such relics, that it is no hard work for any among them to ransom the souls of others, or to preserve their own. In a word, doth not all this debase the spirit of true religion, and expose it to the jealousy of atheists, as if it were a contrivance for advancing base and secular designs. And doth it not eat out the sense of true piety, when the vulgar see the guides of souls making such shameful merchandize of them, and doing it with such respect of persons, that if a man be rich enough, he is secure ; whereby our Lord's blessing of the poor, and passing a woe on the rich, is reversed. But above all, what indignity is by this done to the blood of the Son of God ? And how are the people carried from their dependence on him, and their value of his sufferings, by these practices !

Another art not very remote from this, for detracting from the value of Christ's death, and the confidence we should have

in it, is the priestly absolution ; wherein, after the sinner hath gone over his sins, without any sign of remorse, and told them to the priest, he enjoins a penance, the doing whereof is called a satisfaction ; and the vulgar do really imagine, that the undergoing the penance doth fully serve for appeasing God's wrath against sin ; but as soon as the priest hath enjoined his penance, without waiting that they obey it, he lays his hand on their head, and says, I absolve thee ; and after this they judge themselves fully cleansed of sin, and that they may receive the sacrament, had their former life been never so bad. It is true, the practice of the priests, in their slight penances, and hasty absolutions, and promiscuous allowing of all the holy sacrament, is condemned by many in that Church, who complain of these abuses with much honest zeal ; but these complaints are so little regarded, that their writings are condemned, and the corruption continues unreformed. Now what can take off more from the value of the death of Christ, than to believe it in the power of a priest to absolve from sin ? All the power of the Church being either ministerially to declare the absolution offered in the Gospel upon the conditions in it, or to absolve from the scandal which any public trespass hath given. It was counted blasphemy in Christ, when he said, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," Mark ii. 5, 10. of which he cleared himself, from the power which was committed to the Son of man on earth, to forgive sins ; which shews it to be blasphemy in all others to pretend to absolve from sin, it being an invasion of his prerogative.

To this I might add the scorn put on religion by many of the penances enjoined for sin, such as the abstaining from flesh for so many days, the pattering over so many prayers, the repeating the penitential Psalms, the going to such churches, and such altars ; with other ridiculous observances like these, which cannot but kill the vitals of true religion, and lead away souls from these earnest applications to Jesus Christ for pardon and renovation. And who can have any sad apprehensions of sin, who is taught such an easy way of escaping punishment ?

I confess in this, as in all other parts of religion, the masters of that Church have so contrived things, that their doctrines might, according to the fable of the manna, taste pleasant in every man's relish ; for if any be grave and melancholy, then silence, solitude, and retirement are enjoined them ; if their tempers be more fiery and sullen, severe corporal mortifications

and disciplines are tasked on them, such as cruel, and, perhaps, public whipping, or other unspeakable austerities, with which the lives of the modern saints are full ; but if one be of a more jolly temper, who desires heaven at an easy rate, then some trifling penance shall serve turn. These are a few of their arts for diverting souls from flying unto Jesus, as to the sure and safe refuge from the Father's wrath, in whom only we can find sanctuary, and whom the Father has sent into the world to seek and save lost sinners. Now whether the priests in the injunction of easy penances, and giving absolution, do not violate the prerogative of Jesus, and insensibly debauch souls from that affectionate and grateful duty they owe their Redeemer, into their trifling methods and appointments, I refer it to all who know them.

Another opposition made to the priestly office of Christ, is their conceit of the sacrifice of the mass, which they believe is a formal expiation of sins, both for the living and dead who are in purgatory : Christ once offered himself up for taking away sin, which he did by that one sacrifice, and this is by the Apostle stated amongst the differences which are betwixt the sacrifices of Moses, which are to be daily and yearly renewed and repeated : whereas Christ offered one sacrifice in the end of the world, so that there was no need of more, Heb. x. 1, 2, 3, 12, 14. Now to imagine that the priest's going through the office of the mass, and his receiving the consecrated elements, can have a virtue to expiate the sins of others, especially of the dead, is a thing so contrary to the most common impressions, that it will puzzle a man's belief to think any can credit it. And yet this is one of the master-pieces of the religion of that Church. It is true, in a right sense, that sacrament may be called a sacrifice, as it was by the ancients, either in general, as prayers, praises, and alms-deeds are called so in Scripture ; or as it is a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ ; but to imagine the action hath an expiatory force in it, is a visible derogation from the value of Christ's death ; and all the value is in any outward sacramental action, can only be derived into the soul of the receiver ; but it is absurd to think one man's action can be derived to another ; and it clearly appears from the institution of the Lord's Supper, that its end was the joint communicating of believers, which is perverted manifestly by the practice of those priests, who communicate in the name of the spectators.

Finally, what a derogation is it from the priestly office of

Christ, one branch whereof is his intercession, to join saints or angels with him in that work, nay, and prefer them to him ? which will be found too true, if the office of the Virgin, and the prayers offered to her, be compared with those offered to her Son. Did Christ, by the merits of his passion, acquire this honour at so dear a rate ? and shall we, for whom he suffered, rob him so injuriously and sacrilegiously of his honour, and bestow it on these who are our fellow-servants ?

But having touched this in the former part of my discourse, I advance my inquiry to the opposition given the regal office of Christ : and first, how contrary is it to the glory wherewith even his human nature and body is resplendent in heaven, to believe, that five words muttered out by the priest, shall have the virtue to produce his real and glorified body, instead of the annihilated elements of bread and wine, and yet under their accidents and appearances ? This is a new and strange kind of humiliation, if true, by which he who is now clothed with glory, must be every day exposed under so thick, so dark, and so contemptible a covering, as are the resemblances of bread and wine. What low thoughts of his person must it breed in such minds, as are capable of believing this contrivance ?

Again, he, as king of the Church, hath given her laws and precepts, to whose obedience she is obliged ; to which none can add, without they acknowledge another head, and whose obligation none can untie or dispense with ; for Christ's dominion consists in this authority he hath over our consciences, which he hath vindicated into liberty, by delivering us from the bondage of corruption. If then any pretend a power of obtruding new articles on our belief, or obligations on our consciences, these must be confessed to be injurious to the dignity wherewith Christ is vested. What then shall be said of him who pretends an authority of dispensing with, and dissolving the obligation of oaths, of dissolving the wedlock bond, of allowing of marriage in the forbidden degrees ? And as for their additions to the laws of Christ, they are innumerable. And here what I mentioned last, calls me to mind of a pretty device, to multiply the forbidden degrees of marriage ; yea, and add the degrees of spiritual kindred, that is, of kindred with our godfathers, or godmothers in baptism, which is done upon no other design, but to draw in more to the treasure of the Church by frequent dispenses. If I should here reckon up all the additions, which by the authority of that Church are made to the laws of Christ, I should resume all that I have

hitherto alleged, they being visible additions to the doctrine and rules of the Gospel, and imposed with such unmerciful cruelty, that an anathema is the mildest of the spiritual censures they thunder against such as comply not with their tyranny; and a faggot would be its civil sanction, were the secular powers at their devotion. I do not deny, but there is an authority, both in the civil and ecclesiastical powers, of enjoining things indifferent; but no authority beside Christ's can reach the conscience. Besides, if these indifferent things swell so in their number, be vain, pompous, and useless, and be imposed without all regard to the tender scruples of weak consciences, they become tyrannical; and such as do so impose them, discover their affecting a tyrannical and lordly dominion over consciences; and that they prefer their own devices to the simpler methods of Christ, and the plainer and easier rules of his Gospel.

But one instance of their abrogating the laws of Christ is more signal, in their violating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; wherein, though he instituted it under both kinds, and did so distribute it, with the express command, that all should drink of it; yet they presumed, notwithstanding of that, and though the primitive Church distributed it in both kinds, which is confessed in their canon, to snatch the cup from the laity, and engross it to the clergy. Now it is to be considered, that the value of the sacramental actions flowing only from their institution, the first appointment should be most religiously observed in them: besides, the universal extent of Christ's word, "Drink ye all of it," which was not used in the distribution of the bread, hath a particular mystery in it, to guard against the foreseen corruption of that part of it; and the reason given in the distribution of the cup, shews it must reach to all that need the blood of Christ for the remission of sins; which not being restrained to the priests, shews that the cup, without a direct opposition to the mind and command of Christ, ought not to be taken from the people: and any that will read the goodly reasons given for this sacrilege, will see what a low account they have of the commands of Christ, when upon such trifling pretences they will violate them. And with how much cruelty they backed this invasion of Christ's authority, the history will declare, they beginning it with a perfidious burning of two witnesses who opposed it at Constance: and occasioning so much war and bloodshed against

those who adhered to the rule of the Gospel in this matter, and refused to stoop to their tyranny.

But I advance to another invasion of Christ's regal authority, committed by him who pretends to be universal bishop of the Church, and to have authority over all churchmen; whom he makes swear obedience to him, and looks on them but as his delegates. It was unluckily done of Gregory the Great, to be so severe on this head, as to condemn the title of universal bishop as antichristian; but little dreamed he in how few years his successor would aspire to that height of ambition. Now by this pretence, all these officers whom Christ hath appointed to rule and feed his Church, are turned out of their authority, and made subject to him. And with how much pride he treads on his fellow-bishops, the histories of many ages do declare. It is true, at first, as being bishop of the imperial city, the bishops of Rome were highly esteemed, but pride and ambition began soon to leaven them; yet they were for the first four ages, looked upon by the other bishops but as their fellow-bishops; and by the decrees of two General Councils, the bishops of Constantinople were in all things, except the precedence, made equal to them. And by the decree of the Council of Nice, other metropolitans are levelled with them. And here I must tell of a shameful forgery of three bishops of Rome, who, one after another, would have obtruded on the African Churches a decree, of allowing of appeals from them to the Roman See, as if it had been made at Nice: which they of Africa rejected, and upon trial found it to be none of the appointments at Nice, but a decree of the Council of Sardica.

But, by degrees, the bishops of that city got up to the height they are now at; and not content with their usurping over their brethren and fellow-churchmen, their next attempt was upon princes, who deriving their authority from Jesus Christ, the King of kings, by whom kings do reign; it was an invasion of his power to attempt against his vicegerent on earth. But the Popes made no bones of this, for being now held Christ's vicars on earth, with other blasphemous titles, as vice-God, yea, and Lord God, they thought their power was limited, as long as kings and emperors were not even in temporals subject to them. And therefore, from the days of Pope Gregory the Seventh, they pretended to a power of deposing princes, disposing of their dominions to others, and dispensing

with the oaths of fidelity their subjects had sworn to them ; and it was easy for them to make crowns change their masters as they pleased ; for there were always other ambitious princes ready, for their own ends, to invade the dominions of these deposed kings, upon the Pope's warrant ; and the generality of the people were so possessed with the Pope's power of releasing souls from purgatory, and from the punishments due to sin, that they were easily prevailed upon to follow his thunders. And by that time the Popes had swarms of emissaries of the begging orders, who, under shews of austere piety, gained much reverence and esteem in the world, and so got all subjected to the papal tyranny. Now, should I instance this in particulars, I should transgress the limits of a short discourse by a long history ; but the lives of Gregory the Seventh, Alexander the Third, Boniface the Eighth, and Julius the Second, to mention no more, will sufficiently convince any who will be at the pains to read them, as they are written by those who lived in that communion. And Matthew of Paris will at length inform his reader, how much and how often England smarted under this tyranny.

And all this is so far from being denied, that it is defended avowedly by not a few of the Canonists and Jesuits, and is a doctrine dearly entertained in the Court of Rome to this day, as appeared from the late attempt of Pope Paul the Fifth upon Venice. But the world is now a little wiser than to be carried away by these arts ; and therefore that pretence is laid to sleep, till haply the beast be healed of the wound that was given it at the Reformation.

But I cannot leave this particular, without my sad regrets, that too deep a tincture of this spirit of antichristianism is among many, who pretend much aversion to it ; since the doctrine of resisting magistrates, upon colours of religion, is so stiffly maintained, and adhered to by many, who pretend to be highly reformed, though this be one of the characters of the scarlet-coloured whore. But thus far have we gone through the second part of Antichrist's character, and have discovered too clear indications of a deformity to the spirit and truth of the Christian religion, in all the branches of the honour and worship due to Jesus the only mediator of the new covenant.

From this I proceed to the third part of my enquiry, which is, the opposition made to the great design of the Christian religion, for elevating the souls of men into a participation of

the divine nature, whereby the soul being inwardly purified, and the outward conversation regulated, the world may be restored to its primitive innocence ; and men admitted to an inward and intimate fellowship with their Maker. The first step of this renovation is repentance, for God commands men everywhere to repent ; and repentance and remission of sins are always united. And this being an horror at sin upon the sense of its native deformity, and contrariety to the law of God, which makes the soul apprehend the hazard it hath incurred by it, so as to study by all means to avoid it in all time coming ; nothing doth prepare the mind more for faith in Christ, and the study of a new life, than repentance, which must needs be previous to these. But what devices are found to enervate this ? Sins must be divided into venial and mortal ; the former deserving only some temporal punishment, and being easily expiated by some trifling piece of seeming devotion, and hereby many sins are struck out of the penitent's consideration : for who can have a great apprehension of that which is so slightly expiated ? And this may be extended to the easy pardons, given for acknowledged mortal sins. For he who thinks that God can be appeased for them, with the saying by rote so many prayers, cannot possibly have deep apprehensions of their being either so displeasing to God, or so odious in themselves. But shall I to this add their asserting, that a simple attrition, which is a sorrow flowing from the consideration of any temporal evil God hath brought upon the sinner, without any regard had, either to the vileness of the sin, or the offence done to God by it ; that it, I say, can suffice for justifying sinners, and qualifying them for the sacrament, whereby the necessity of contrition, and sorrow flowing from the principle of the love of God, is made only a high degree of profection, but not indispensably necessary. In the next place, all these severities they enjoin for penances, do but tend to nourish the life of sin, when sinners see a trade set up, with which they can buy themselves off from the wrath of God. To this is to be added the doctrine of indulgences, which is so direct an opposition to evangelical repentance, as if it had been contrived for dispossessing the world of the sense of it.

That which is next pressed in the Gospel for uniting the souls of mankind to God, is that noble ternary of graces, faith, hope, and love, by which the soul rests in God by a holy affiance in him, believing the truth of his Gospel, expecting the accomplishment of his promises, waiting for the full

fruition of him, and delighting in his glorious perfections and excellencies. Now how much all this is shaken by these carnal and gross conceptions, which the Roman doctrine offers of God in their image and mass-worship, and by their idolatry to saints, is apparent. Are they not taught to confide more in the Virgin, or their tutelar saints, than in the Holiest of All? Doth not the fear of purgatory damp the hopes of future blessedness? And, finally, what impious doctrine hath been publicly licensed and printed in that Church, of the degrees of the love we owe to God? Some blasphemously teaching, that we are not at all bound to love him, others mincing it so, as if they were afraid of his being too much beloved.

In a word, there is an impiety in the morals of some of that Church, particularly among the disciples of Loyola, beyond what was ever taught amongst the worst of the heathen philosophers, which hath been fully discovered by some of the honester and more zealous of that communion. And though these corruptions have not been avowed by the head of that Church, yet, by their being publicly vented, by the deaf ear he gives to all the complaints against them, and by the constant caresses and privileges he heaps upon that order which teacheth them, he discovers either his great satisfaction in that corrupt doctrine, or that upon the account of other interests he is content to betray the souls of Christians into the corruptions of such impious and ungodly leaders, since the order that hath owned all these corruptions, is yet possessed of the consciences of the greater part of them that own that communion, they being the universal confessors. And since they license the public venting of so much corrupt doctrine in printed writings, what reason have we to suspect their base compliance with sins in their more secret and unknown practisings, with such poor deluded souls as trust to their conduct, of which many proofs are brought by others of that same Church?

But I pursue my enquiry into the other traces of the anti-christian corruption of the purity and power of our most holy faith: solemn worship, and secret devotion are the great means of uniting souls to God, and of deriving the assistance of his spirit and grace to us; but when these are performed in an unknown tongue, how incapable are they of reaching that end? And the doctrine of the efficacy of the sacraments for conveying of grace by the work wrought, looks like a design against all serious preparation for the worthy receiving

of them ; since by that doctrine a man, be he never so ill prepared, yet is sure of their efficacy, for if his priest absolve him, and he have a simple attrition for sin, without anything of the love of God, he is by their doctrine and conduct qualified for receiving worthily, were his heart never so much united to sin, or averse from all devotion, or application to divine matters. And what complaints shall be here made of those who teach that the sure way of gaining the favour of God, which they phrase by the keys of Paradise, is to say the Ave, to bid the blessed Virgin good Morrow every day, or to send our guardian angel to salute her ? Or, finally, to wear a medal or rosary in devotion to her, though from the first time we begin to wear it, we never again think of her. Doth not all this look like a conspiracy against the power of godliness ?

But we shall next consider the moral law, which, though Christ said, "he came not to dissolve but to fulfil," Matt. v. 17, yet they have found out distinctions and doctrines to destroy it. It is true, what may be said here, cannot so directly, as to every particular, be charged on the Roman Church, since it hath not been decreed by Pope or Council ; but when profane casuists have printed doctrines which tend to the subversion of the most common principles of virtue and morality, and these are licensed according to the rule of that Church : and for as public as they are, and for all the censures and complaints others have passed upon them, yet they continue without any censure from the chair of Rome, it is a shrewd presumption that they are not unwelcome to that See ; though for good manners' sake they have given them no other owning, but a connivance, joined with an extraordinary cherishing of that school which vents them.

Two general doctrines they have, which at two strokes dissolve all the bonds of virtue. The one is, "the doctrine of probability," the other "of good intention."

By the first they teach, that if any approved doctor of the Church have held an opinion about any practical thing, as probable, any Christian may with a safe conscience follow it, were it never so much condemned by others ; and did it appear with the blackest visage : and by this it is that there is scarce a sin which may not be safely hazarded on, since there have been of the approved doctors of that Church who have made a shift, by distinctions, to represent the worst actions, not only as probable, but really as good.

The next doctrine is of good intention, whereby they teach a man to commit the grossest legerdemain with God and his own conscience imaginable ; by which he may act any sin he will, provided he intend not that, but some other good design or motive : and any that will read the Provincial Letters, or the Mystery of Jesuitism, and compare their citations with the authors whence they take them, will soon be satisfied of the truth of this.

We have already seen how that Church violates the two first commandments, by her idolatry, whereby, in opposition to the first, she worships saints and angels, with those acts and expressions of adoration only due to God. The second is also palpably violated by their image-worship, and adoring God under sensible and external representations. The third is made void by the Pope's pretending to dispense with oaths, and to annul their obligation, as also by their doctrines of equivocation and mental reservations, in all oaths, both assertory and promissory ; besides the impious doctrines of some casuists that justify the profaning of God's sacred name in rash and common swearing. Their contempt of the fourth precept is not denied, it being usually among them a day of merriment, dancing, and foolish jollity : many among them teaching, that to hear mass that day doth fully answer the obligation for its observance. Their contempt of the fifth follows, upon the doctrine of the Pope's power of deposing princes, and freeing the subjects from their obligation to them ; by which they are taught to rebel, and resist the ordinance of God. Besides, their casuists allow it as lawful to desire the parent's death, provided it be not out of malice to him, but out of a desire of good to themselves, that they may enjoy their inheritance, or be rid of their trouble. Yea, some of their impious casuists say, that children may lawfully intend the killing of their parents, and may disown them, and marry without their consent.

For the sixth command, their casuists do generally allow, to kill in defence of honour, life, or goods, even though the hazard of losing them be not near and evident, but afar off and uncertain : and they teach that a man is not bound to stay till another smite him ; but if he threaten him, or if he offend with his words, or if one know that he hath a design upon his honour, life, or goods, he may, with a good conscience, prevent and kill him. And this they extend to all sorts of persons, both secular and religious ; allowing it to

sons against their fathers. And they leave it free to them to execute this by whatever means they judge most proper, whether by force or surprise, or by the service of others, if they dare not attempt to kill by their own hands ; which they stretch to the case of one who knows another guilty of a crime, and intends to pursue him for it ; and they allow the guilty person, if he knew no other way of escape, to kill him who intends his accusation, that he may thereby preserve his life ; in order to which they also allow it lawful to kill the witnesses that may prove the crime.

As for the seventh command, modesty cannot name their polluted doctrines about it : they barred the clergy the lawful use of marriage, but did not allow them concubinate ; and the public licenses given to base houses in the Pope's dominions, prove that See a mother of fornications, even in the letter ; the religious houses being likewise full of irreligious entanglements into a course of life, which many times they are not able to bear ; but being restrained from the honourable ordinance of God, many of these houses have proved either nests of filthiness, or of secret impurities ; which, it seems, by the rules of confession, and the questions their confessors put to them, are known to abound among them. And any that have read these will confess, that it defiles a chaste mind to read them ; but what must it be to ask them, especially at those of a different sex ? Shall I also here mention the frequent dispensing with marriages within degrees forbidden, and their as frequent dissolving of that sacred knot, though (as if they had resolved on a contradiction to all the rules of the Gospel) they refuse to dissolve the bond on the account of adultery, which Christ hath made the only ground that can justify the dissolution of it ? But shall I add to this the base impieties, of which not only those of purple and scarlet livery among them have been notoriously guilty, but even the villanies of some that have worn the triple crown ? As I should grow too tedious, so I must needs tell things which to a pure mind were both nauseating to write and to read. Those that have been in that spiritual Babylon, know that it is a Sodom even in the letter, none being more guilty of that crying wickedness than those that bear the characters of religious or sacred orders. And what shall we think of the scarlet fraternity, that produced a monster that attempted Heaven itself, by writing in defence of that impiety, which it avenged by fire and brimstone, and yet had no censure passed on him

for it ? whereas, for the least tincture of Calvinism or Lutherism he had been condemned to the faggot. Some of them do also teach, that fornication is not forbidden by the laws of nature, and only by positive precepts, so that they may be dispensed with.

For the eighth command, those profane casuists have made such shifts for it that none needs to be guilty of theft ; for they teach it to be no sin to take that from another which he made no use of, but may well want ; and that in such a case he who steals is not obliged to restitution. Others of them teach, "That he who stole a great sum is not obliged to the restitution of the whole, but only of so much as may make the theft not notable." But they teach, "That small thefts, even though often repeated, are but venial sins," which is an excellent doctrine for warranting servants insensibly to purloin their masters' goods. They also teach arts of escaping just debts, beyond all the subtleties of false lawyers, which the Jesuits themselves have often put into practice, and have found out arts for justifying oppressive usury, defrauding of creditors, ruining of commerce, and making havoc of our neighbour's goods without injustice.

For the ninth command, though it be so contrary to nature that the worst of men count it a reproach to be charged with falsehood and lying, yet they have favoured it avowedly : for for by their doctrine of equivocating, and using mental reservations, the greatest falsities in the world may be averred, and sworn without sin : and the value they set on a strict observance of promises, and candour in them, appeared at Constance ; where a whole Council required Sigismund the emperor to burn John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, though he had given them his safe conduct ; for they taught him, "That faith was not to be kept to heretics." Another such like trip of one of the Popes, proved fatal both to Ladislaus and the kingdom of Hungary, at Varna ; where they breaking the truce they had sworn to the Turk, upon the Pope's warrant, were signally punished for their treachery. The doctors of the forementioned school do also teach, that he who hath borne false witness in a matter that may cost another his life, is not bound to retract it, if that retraction may bring great evils upon him. They also propose methods for suborning witnesses, and falsifying of writs and records without any sin ; and that all this may be done to defame a person with some horrid imputation, who is led as a witness

to prove anything against one, that thereby he may be cast from witnessing.

And as for the tenth command, they have struck out all the first motions of the mind to evil, from being accounted sins, and by their divisions of sins into venial and mortal, they make sure enough work of this command, that it shall not be broken mortally. It were an endless work to go and make out all these particulars, of their dissolving the moral law, by clear proofs: but he who desires satisfaction in that, will find it in the "Provincial Letters," or the "Morals of the Jesuits."

But if we pass from the Law to the Gospel, we shall find that they have made no less bones of it. We are all over the Gospel called to be heavenly-minded, to despise the world, and to set our affections on things above; and particularly, churchmen are taught not to seek the riches, splendour, and vanities of a present world; which was most vigorously enforced by the example of Christ and his holy Apostles. But how contrary to this is that religion, whose great design is, the enriching and aggrandizing of the teachers and pastors of it, chiefly of him who pretends to be the supreme and sole pastor? I need not here remind the reader of the trade of indulgences, by which that Church rose to its riches and pomp; nor need I tell what a value they set upon outward actions of piety, the chief of these being the enriching of churches and abbeys; and how these were commended to the world as the sure means of attaining eternal life. Shall I add to this, the visible and gross secularity and grandeur, in which the head, and other prelates of that Church, do live? The head of it being in all things a temporal prince, perpetually busied in intrigues of state, and balancing the princes of Europe, and chiefly of Italy; and what base and simoniacial practices abound in that court; all, who have written of it with any degrees of ingenuity, do acknowledge all things are venal there: money being able to raise the basest and unworthiest to the highest promotions; the cardinals are also named either upon the interests of princes, and chiefly of the two great crowns; or to make the Pope's nephews have a greater stroke in the next conclave, or upon some such carnal account. And perhaps, for good manners sake, a scholar, or a person famous for devotion, may get a red hat: but such are always the least esteemed in the college, all affairs being governed by the "Pope's nephews," or "the protectors of the crowns." And who shall expect that such a

company of secular, ignorant, (I mean in matters of religion,) and oftentimes licentious men, should be the great Sanhedrim, by whose advice all that belongs to religion must be managed ? These must be likewise the electors of the Pope, when the See is vacant ; whom they choose out of their own number, who is always elected by the prevailing interest of one of the crowns, or by the faction of the former Pope's nephews. And what cabalings, what bespeaking of suffrages, and what impudent *ambitus* is commonly practiced in the elections of Popes, is well enough known, nor can it be denied. Now, what man of common sense can imagine, that a Pope thus elected by simoniacal arts, and carnal interests, can be "Christ's vicar on earth, or have the Holy Ghost always affixed to his chair, that he shall never err in any of his decrees ?" Truly, he that can believe this, may believe any thing that is gross and absurd. Is not the whole frame and contrivance of that court turned so entirely secular, that not a vestige of the character of a Church, or of churchmen, remains ? And to this shall I add all the splendour of their apparel, the state of their processions, and the ceremonies of their coronation, and how they wear a triple crown ? which being so well known to all who ever were at Rome, need not be descanted on by me. But the mention of the crown calls me to mind of the literal accomplishment of that, of "mystery being on the forehead of the whore ;" since the word mystery was for a great while the inscription on the front of the triple crown, though it be now altered ; which being proved by others, I may not stay to make it good. From this I should descend to the cardinals, bishops, and abbots, and shew how secular they are become ; all their design being to engross power, and monopolize all riches ; which contagion is also derived into the inferior orders of the clergy, who, by the magnifying of their images, saints, and relics, use all the arts they can devise for enriching of themselves and their friends. And even those orders that pretend to mortification and abandoning the world, and talk of nothing but their poor and austere manner of life, yet have possessed themselves of no small part of the riches and glory of the world. It is true, there is a young brotherhood among them, which, though the youngest, yet hath outstripped the elder, and made them stoop to it, and serve it. And what base and sordid ways that society hath pursued, for arriving at the highest pitch of greatness and riches, and how successfully they have managed their designs, is sufficiently cleared, what through the zeal of

some of the honester of that communion, what through the envy of other emulating orders, all these things do fully prove how unlike that Church is to the poor and pure simplicity of Christ and his Apostles, and of the first ages of the Church.

If we further examine the characters of evangelical purity, we have them from the mouth of our Saviour, when he commands us to learn of him, “for he was meek and lowly in heart ;” and he made it the distinguishing badge of his disciples, that “they loved one another.” Now for humility, it is true the head of that Church calls himself the “servant of the servants of God ;” but how far such humility is from his design, his aspiring pretences do loudly declare. All the world must stoop to him ; not only must his fellow-bishops swear obedience to him, and become his vassals, but the kings of the earth must be his footstool, and all must pay him that servile homage of kissing his foot ; an ambition as insolent as extravagant. His power must be magnified with the most blasphemous titles of “his being God, our Lord God on earth omnipotent ;” with a great deal more of such servile adulations offered to him from the parasites of that court. In a word, a great part of that religion, when rightly considered, will be found on design contrived and abetted, for exalting him to the highest degrees of insolence : but so many proofs of this were already upon other occasions hinted, that it is needless to go over them again, and that same leaven leavens the whole lump of their clergy, who all pretend, that by their ecclesiastical character they are only subject to their head, and so enjoy an immunity from the civil authority, be their crimes what they may be. And an inroad on this pretence of late, from the state of Venice, when they seized two churchmen that were highly guilty, drew out so much of their most holy Father’s indignation, that he thundered against them ; and finding the weakness of the spiritual sword, resolved to try the edge of his temporal one upon them, in patrociny, partly of these villains, and partly of the covetousness of the clergy, to whom the senate had set a small limit by a decree ; but finding they were likely to prove too hard for him, “he was willing to put up his sword, rather than to kill and eat, as one of his cardinals advised him.”

Shall I with this also tell the instances of the ambition of cardinals, who from their first original of being presbyters of Rome, have risen up to the height of counting themselves the

companions of kings, and in their habit affect a princely splendour, “but have unluckily chosen the liveries of the whore ; for they wear scarlet as the bishops do purple, the foretold colours of the whore’s garments.” Shall I next shew to what a height of pride the exaltation of the priestly dignity among them hath risen ? as if it were equal, nay, preferable to the condition of princes. The priest giving absolution, is a sure device to make his power be much accounted of, since he can forgive sin. The gorgeous and rich apparel they wear in worship, serves also to set off their dignity. And what a goodly device is it, that their spittle must make one of the sacred rites in baptism ? “Certainly they must be esteemed a marvellous holy creature, whose very excrements are so sacred.” Their engrossing the cup to themselves from the people, was another trick for raising their esteem : but above all things, their power of transmuting the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, by uttering five words, was a marvellous device, to make all the world admire them, who can so easily, and every day, work a miracle, compared to which, all the miracles of the gospel may pass for ordinary actions. What a great piece of wonder must such a man be held to be, who can thus exercise his authority over the very person of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding of all the glory to which he is now exalted ? and it was no contemptible engine for that same design, to possess the people with a belief of the priests offering in the mass an expiatory sacrifice for the sins both of the dead and living ; which proved a stock for them to trade on, both for their ambition and covetousness ; and from these evidences we may infer, how little of the humility of Christ appears in that Church, from the highest to the lowest.

The next branch of the evangelical spirit is, meekness and charity, which leads me unto the consideration of the fourth design of the Christian religion, which was the uniting of mankind under one head, and into one body ; and this it designed to effectuate, not only by these sublime precepts of the highest love, and the utmost extent of the pardoning of injuries, and of returning them with the best offices of love and prayer, which the blessed author of our faith did enact, but by the associating of the faithful into one society, called the Church, which was to be united with the closest bonds of brotherly love and charity, and was to be governed by pastors and teachers, who should “feed the flock with the sincere milk of the word ;”

and was also to be cemented together by the ligaments of the holy sacraments, “by which, as by joints and bands, they are both united to their head, and knit together.” Now we are from these things to consider, what opposition that Church we are now considering, gives to this branch of the end of Christianity.

And first, whereas the Gospel “pronounceth us free, and that we are no more the servants of men, but of God,” if any attempt upon that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, he changeth the authority of the Church into a tyrannical yoke; much more, if all the new articles of belief, and rules for practice, be imposed under the severest certificates. But here we are to consider, that all these things which that Church hath imposed on all of her communion, for which we withdraw from her, are additions to our faith; for in this we mainly differ from that Church, that whatever we acknowledge, they acknowledge likewise, but with a great many additions. We believe the Scriptures are a rule for Christians, and they believe the same; but they add traditions, and the authority of the Church to the Scriptures. We believe that God is to be worshipped spiritually, they believe the same; but add, that he may be worshipped by images and sensible figures. We believe Christ to be the mediator betwixt God and man, they believe the same; but add to this the intercession of saints. We hold that God and Christ are to be worshipped, they hold the same; but add saints and angels to their worship. We believe heaven and hell to be the several states of the future life, they believe the same, but add purgatory betwixt them, to the day of judgment. We believe baptism, and the Lord’s supper, to be the sacraments of the new covenant; they believe the same, but add five more. We believe Christ is spiritually and really present in the Lord’s Supper; this they believe, but add the unconceivable tenet of his corporal presence. In a word, it might be instanced in many other particulars, how they have driven us from their communion, by their additions to the truth and sincerity of the Gospel, which they have adulterated by their inventions; and not only have they imposed all these things, but thundered out anathemas on all that question them; and have so wreathed all their fopperies with that main and fundamental article of their belief, of the infallibility of the Church, that it is impossible to hope for their recovery, till they renounce that prin-

eiple which is so dear to them. For if their Church be infallible, then in no matter of faith or practice can she decree amiss ; and therefore the lawfulness and sanctity of all her decrees must be maintained with an equal vigour and zeal ; for if in one of them she step aside, her infallibility is for ever gone. And by this we may see to how little purpose it is to treat of accommodating matters with that Church, since there is no possibility of our union with them, without we turn over entirely to them : for they cannot part with one of their errors, without they first renounce that which is the dearest of them all, to wit, the unerring authority of their Church. How cruel then is that Church, which addeth the severe sanction of an anathema to all her decrees, even about the most trifling matters, and about things that are, by their confession, of their own natures indifferent ? And a consecretary to this is, that cruel opinion they hold, "that none can be saved out of their communion ;" pretending there is no salvation without the true Church, which they restrict to those who are under the obedience of the Romish bishop ; and this is what they usually frighten all with.

But it is to be considered what the true notion of the Church is, that so we may see through this frightful wizard. The Church then is a society of Christians united in the same faith, for worshipping of God jointly. And another definition of a Church cannot be proved from Scripture ; for the Church being called the body of Christ, its union with Him as its head, is held forth by the Apostle in these words, Col. ii. 19—"The Head Christ, from whom the whole body by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God." From which words we see what constitutes a man a member of the true Church ; which is, first, his union to Christ as his head, together with a dependance on him for growth and nutriture ; and next, his being knit to all others who are thus united to Christ ; which is first, the inward union of divine charity, by which he loves all who cleave to Christ as their head ; and next, his associating himself with them in outward visible acts of worship, which every Christian is bound to do, with all that worship God in spirit and truth. But if a society of Christians do visibly swerve from Christ in many great and signal contradictions to the honour due to his person, and to the obedience due to his laws, and do grossly adulterate the worship, so that communion cannot be had with that Church, without departing from the

Head Christ, then it can be no departing from the Church, to adhere to Christ and his true worship, and to separate from the corruptions which are brought in upon the Christian religion. If then it appear, that the Church of Rome hath departed from the truth and simplicity of the Gospel, in so many great and main points, those who attempted the reforming her to her first purity, and finding that not to be hoped for, did unite among themselves for serving and worshipping God aright, cannot be charged with separation from the true Church.

But by that cruel tenet of theirs, they breed up all their children in the greatest uncharitableness imaginable, condemning all who cannot believe their strange doctrines, or concur in their unhallowed worship. Thus they are the schismatics who have departed from the true Church, and who force from their communion all who adhere to it. But this cruelty rests not in uncharitable censures, but hath extended itself to as much bloody and barbarous rage as ever sprung from hell; for all the cruelty of the heathen persecutors cannot match the practices of that whore that hath been so often drunk with the blood of saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus. What enraged cruelty appeared against the poor Waldenses for the separating from their corruptions? How many of all sexes and ages were cruelly butchered down by the procurement of the rulers of that Church? and because the Albigenses lived under the protection of princes that favoured them, how did the Popes depose their princes; and instigate other ambitious invaders to seize on their dominions? Which to effectuate, a croisade was proclaimed, that had been formerly practised against the enemies of the Christian faith, and heaven was promised to such as went against these poor innocents; whereupon they were killed by thousands without all mercy. Never was there any who had the zeal or honesty in these dark ages to witness against the apostacy of the Church, but the Pope and clergy used all means to get his zeal rewarded with a faggot. And when the time of reformation came, with what rage and spite did the Pope, by his letters and legates, instigate all the princes^s of Europe to cruelty against them! But as these things were not done in corners, so they are still so fresh in our remembrance, by the copious accounts we have of them, that I need not tell what arts the Popes and other ecclesiastics used to set all Germany on fire on this account. Nor need I tell the cruelty was exercised in the Netherlands in Charles the

Fifth's time, in which more than an hundred thousand are said by Grotius to have been butchered on the account of religion. And in his son Philip's time, the Duke of Alva did in a short time cut down thirty-six thousand. Nor need I tell the cruelties were practised in France for about forty years together; nor of that treacherous massacre, wherein there was an equal mixture of perfidy and cruelty, which, for all that, was entertained at Rome with great joy and applauses. It will be also needless to tell of their cruelty in England in Queen Mary's days, which was chiefly managed by the churchmen. And many are yet alive who remember what enraged cruelty appeared in our neighbour island against all of our religion; which did not only flow from the fury of an oppressed people, but they were trained, encouraged, and warranted to it, by their priests and the nuncio who came afterwards among them, discovered who was the spring of all their motions. Shall I to this add all the private assassinations committed on that account, which were not only practised, but justified? I might here congest many instances, brother murdering brother on the account of religion. Neither is Clement a Dominican, his murdering Henry the Third, nor Chastlet's attempt, nor Ravillac's fact on Henry the Fourth forgotten. Queen Elizabeth's life is full of these attempts, and the blackest of them all was the Gunpowder Treason. All which are to be charged on that Church, because the doctrine of murdering heretic princes was taught, licensed, printed, and yet not condemned in it. From these hints we may guess how much of the lowly, meek, and charitable spirit is to be found with them. But should I to this add the horrid cruelties exercised in these massacres I should be almost past belief, had I not undeniably historians for verifying it; but the mildest of them being to be burned alive, we may guess what the more savage have done by their tortures and lingering deaths. Next shall I mention their courts of inquisition, which have been among them in the hands of churchmen, from the days of their pretended Saint Dominick, whose order have been the great instruments of the cruelties of that Church, and whose procedure being tied to no forms of equity or justice, is as unjust as unmerciful; persons being haled to their black courts upon bare suspicions, or secret informations, without leading of proofs against them, are by torture examined, not only of their own opinions, but of all that are known to them, whose testimony, though drawn from them by cruel torture, will bring the same tortures on all

they delate ; neither is there any mercy for any whom this court declares heretic, but the civil magistrate must condemn them to the fire. Now what man that considers the meekness of Christ and the evangelical spirit, can think that Church the spouse of Christ, that hath rioted it with such savage rage against thousands of persons, for no other crime but because they adhered firmly to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and would not consent or concur with these signal and palpable corruptions with which they have adulterated it.

But as from the constitution of their Church, we see their deformity from the Gospel rule ; so we will next consider their churchmen, and we shall find how far they have strayed from their first original. Churchmen ought to be the guides and pastors of souls. Now how little of this there is among them, we will soon be resolved in. What do the Popes about the feeding of souls ? When do they preach the Gospel ? or dispense the sacraments ? Alas ! it were below the height of his Holiness to stoop to such mean offices. Does any vestige of a churchman remain in that court ? And do they not directly rule in the spirit of the lords of the Gentiles ? And in this the cardinals, bishops, and abbots do, to their proportion, imitate their most holy Father, abandoning wholly the work of the Gospel, as if they bore an empty title, or at most, were only bound to say mass on some greater holidays ; but in all other things do avowedly cast off the care of their flocks. Shall I here tell of the relaxation of all the ancient rules about the offices and duty of churchmen, which these latter ages have invented, and mention how children are made bishops, how they allow of pluralities, non-residences, unions, commendams, gratia expectativa's, with a great many more corruptions, which are every day authorised and granted at Rome ? And so zealous were they for these, that they struggled hard against the honest attempt of some at Trent, who would have had residence declared of divine right, and got it, though with much ado, to be laid aside. And thus it is that the bishops and abbots among them do for the most part relinquish their charges, to live at the courts of princes, and insinuate themselves upon all affairs and offices ; and swarms of them go to Rome, gaping for preferment there. I deny not but even these late ages have produced great men among them, who seem to have designed the reviving of the ancient discipline, both among the clergy and the people ; but as these instances are rare, so they were hated and persecuted at Rome for their zeal ; witness the

condemning of Arnold's Book of Frequent Communion, and the severity Jansenius, and the Abbot of St. Cyran, with their followers, have met with. And thus, whatever individuals that Church may have produced, yet the corruptions I have hinted are notoriously, publicly, and generally practised in it, and nowhere so avowedly as at the Court of Rome. But to compensate this defect of the superior clergy, they have swarms of the inferior ranks every where, both secular and regular, who seem to mind the care of souls very seriously. But not to reflect again upon any thing that hath been hitherto said of their bad conduct of souls, I shall now only take notice of the authority they pretend to, as if the people were bound blindly to follow their confessors' direction, as the voice of God, which clearly makes them the servants of men, and subjects them to the heaviest yoke, which is most directly contrary to the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. And what a rack to souls have they made confession? And what an engine to get into the secrets of all the world, and to bring mankind under their subjection, is obvious enough to any that considers it. And to enforce it the more, as they teach it simply necessary to salvation, so the authority they made the world believe the priests were vested with for pardoning sin, together with their easy pardons and slight penances, did root it deep in the hearts of all of that communion.

But I go next to examine the sacraments; of which, so much being said already, little remains to be added. By their dividing the cup from the bread, they destroy Christ's institution, and so make it no sacrament; and the hearing of mass without communicating, though it make up the greatest part of their worship, yet is purely a service of their own devising, without warrant from Christ's institution, who said, "Take eat, this is my body;" thereby shewing he intended the virtue and benefit of that ordinance only for those who received it. And, in a word, let any read and compare the institution of the Lord's supper, as it is in the three Gospels, and the Epistle to the Corinthians, together with the whole office of the mass, as it is in the Roman Church, and then let him on his conscience pass his verdict, whether they have adhered to, or departed from Christ's institution in that piece of their worship. Finally, one great end of all solemn worship being the communion of saints, in their joint adorations, and mutual concurrence in divine services: what union can they have with God? or what communion can they hold one with another,

who perform all their worship in an unknown tongue, which is the rule and constant practice of that Church beyond sea ; though for the better venting of their sophisticated stuff among us, they give the people books of devotion in their vulgar language, yet continue to say the office of the mass in Latin.

And thus far I have run around that great circle I proposed to myself in the beginning of this discourse ; and have examined the chief designs of the Christian religion, and have found the great and evident contradictions given to them in all their branches, by the established and authorized doctrines and practices of that Church ; in which I have fully justified the wise man's observation, "that he who increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow ;" and have said enough to evince to all rational and considering minds, how unsafe it is for any that would keep a good conscience, to hold communion with them. But I have not finished my design, till I likewise examine the characters of the Christian religion, and compare them with those that are to be found in the synagogue of Rome.

The first character of our faith is, that it was delivered to the world by men sent of God, and divinely inspired, who proved their mission by miracles. Now these doctrines about which we differ from that Church, can pretend to no such divine original : let them tell us what inspired man did first teach the worship of images, of the mass, of angels and saints, and of relics : what man sent of God was the first author of the belief of the corporal presence, of the sacrifice of the mass, of the Pope's supremacy, of purgatory, of indulgences, and of all these innumerable superstitions, of which the Scripture is absolutely silent ; for if these doctrines were not the offspring of revelation, they are none of the oracles of God, nor can we be obliged to believe them as such. It is true they vouch Scriptures for proof to some of these ; but these are so far stretched, that their sure retreat is in the sanctuary of the Church's traditions ; but till a clear warrant be produced for proving it was impossible that any falsehood could have that way crept into the world, we must be excused from believing these. Neither is it possible to know what traditions came from the Apostles ; for as the vulgar are not capable of pursuing the inquiry, so the loss of most of the writings of the first two ages makes it impossible to know what traditions came from the Apostles.

But this I say not, that we need fear the trial ; for the

silence of the first and purest ages, about these things which are controverted among us, is evidence enough that they were not known to them ; especially, since in their apologies which they wrote to the heathens for their religion and worship ; wherein they give an abstract of their doctrines, and a rubric of their worship, they never once mention these great evils, for which we now accuse that Church. It is true, a late ingenious writer, whose sincere zeal and candour had much offended the Roman court, and drawn censures on himself and his book, took a way to repair his reputation by a new method of proving the truth of the opinions held in the Roman Church, which was, that since the present Church held them, that shews that they had them so from their ancestors, and they from theirs, till you run backwards to the days of the Apostles ; alleging, that a change in the worship was unpracticable, since it could not be done in a corner, but in the view of all the world, who, it is not to be imagined, were capable of suffering any great or considerable change to be made in that which was daily in their view, and much in their esteem ; therefore he concludes, that every generation adhered to that belief in which they were born, and so no change in any great substantial and visible part of worship could be made. It is true, he applies this only to the belief of the corporal presence, which he attempts to prove could never have been introduced into the Church, had it not been conveyed down from the Apostles. He hath, indeed, set off this with all the beauties of wit, and elegancies of style, and much profound reading. But with how great and eminent advantages, both of reason and learning, this pretence hath been baffled, I leave it to the judgment of all who have been so happy as to read Mr. Claud's incomparable writings. And the common sense of mankind will prove this but an imposture, how fairly soever adorned ; for if we find it certain, that any doctrines or main parts of worship are now received into that Church ; and if from the undeniable evidences of history, and writings of ancients, it appear, that these things were not received in the ancient Church, then it is certain there hath been a change made from what was then, to what is now, though an ingenious invention may make it appear very difficult to imagine how and when the change came in ; especially when it was insensibly, and by pieces advanced. If then it be proved, that the Fathers believed the elements in the sacrament were really bread and wine, and not changed from their own nature, but only types and figures of

the body of Christ, then we are sure a change must have been made, though the ignorance of some ages make it a hard task to clear all particulars about it. It is true the Fathers did highly magnify this sacrament, with many expressions, which (though the vehemence of divine rhetoric can well justify, yet) will not bear a logical *examen*; but when they speak in a cooler style, nothing can be more clear than that they believed not the corporal presence. But may not that reasoning of the impossibility of a change in a worship be as well applied to the taking the chalice from the people, who in reason should be imagined so tenacious of so great a privilege, that no consideration should have obliged them to part with it? and yet we know, nor do they deny, how it was wrung from them about two hundred and fifty years ago. What may seem less credible than for the people to consent, to have their worship in an unknown tongue, and yet we know that all once worshipped in their mother tongue; but that after, by the overthrow of the Roman empire, the Latin tongue decayed, the barbarous worship was obtruded on the world. And what piece of worship is both more visible, and more contrary to the clearest evidence of Scriptures, especially to the commandments, in which the people were always instructed, than the worshipping of images? And though we know well enough, that for the first seven centuries the Christian world abhorred them; yet within a hundred years after that, we find a great part of it bewitched with them. And what can be thought more uneasy for the world to have received, than the Pope's absolute authority over all the churches and states of the world? One should think, that though religion and reason had lain out of the way, yet interest and ambition had withheld this; yet we see clearly by what steps they crept up, from being bishops of the imperial city, in an equality of power with their neighbouring bishops, into that culminating height, to which they have now mounted. In a word, we refuse not to appeal to the first four ages of the Church, in these matters that we quarrel the Roman Church for: we deny not but human infirmity began soon to appear in the Church, and a care to gain on the heathens, made them quickly fall upon some rites, and use some terms, which after ages corrupted. But the ruin of religion was, when the Roman empire being overturned by the incursion of the northern nations, in the beginning of the fifth century, both piety and religion being laid to sleep, instead of the primitive simplicity of the faith and worship of

the Christians, they turned all their zeal to the adorning of the outwards of religion ; and hence the corruptions of the Church took their rise.

But I had almost forgot to name some revelations which that Church pretends to, even for some of her most doubtful opinions ; which are the visions and extraordinary inspirations of some of their saints, from which they vouch a divine confirmation to their doctrines : I confess there is a great deal of extraordinary visions, raptures, and ecstacies to be met with among the lives of their saints ; and I fear a great deal more than truth : for really whoso will but read these writings, he must confess they are so far from being probable, or well contrived, that they speak out their forgery. Alas ! whereas St. Paul, being put to glory of visions and revelations, was forced to run back fourteen years for one ; their saints are found in them every day. Are they not very credible stories they tell of Christ's appearing to some of their she-saints, and kissing them, giving them rings, being married to them, and celebrating nuptial rites, making them drink out of his side, and leaving on them the prints of his wounds, with many other such-like apparitions of the Virgin, and other saints, which are either forgeries, dreams, or the effects of melancholy, or hysterical distempers ; and yet these extravagant fables are given out to the people, as sacred pieces of divine revelations.

But the inspiration of the holy writers, on which we found our faith, was proved by their miracles which they wrought publicly in the sight of many, and in the presence of their adversaries, many of whom were convinced by them ; and it is certain, that whosoever offers anything to another's belief, pretending he comes to him in the name of God, must have some evident proof of his divine mission, since none are bound to believe him barely on his own testimony, otherwise there should be no end of impostures, if every pretender to divine inspiration were to be believed without proof. Now the way it must be proved is, by some evidence of God's extraordinary assisting such a person, which appeared always either in prophecies or miracles, but chiefly in miracles under the New Testament ; and, therefore, both Christ and his Apostles appeal to the mighty works they wrought, as the great confirmation of their doctrine. If, then, there be new doctrines brought into the Church, they must have the like confirmation, otherwise they are not to be believed.

But here those of that Church think they triumph, for

miracles they have in abundance ; not a relic they have, but hath wrought mighty wonders, nor a country saint, but the curate of the place can gravely tell a great many deeds of his puissance ; nor want the images their marvellous achievements ; but wondrously wondrous are the feats the hosty hath performed. Here I am upon a sad subject of that trade of lies and fictions, wherewith the merchants of that Babylon have so long trafficked, of which the sincere among themselves are ashamed. How ridiculous are many of their miraculous narrations ? Was it not a worthy piece of the angelical ministration, for angels to go trotting over sea and land with a load of timber and stones of the Virgin's house, till at length they set it down at Loretto, that great devotions might be shewn to it ? It is a goodly story for to tell of a saint, that walked so far after his head was cut off, with it in his arms, resting in some places to draw breath ; yet he will pass for an infidel that should doubt of this at St. Denis' Church. Who can look on the lives of the late saints of that Church without nausea ? Gregory's Dialogues begun this trade, which indeed hath thriven well since. The miracles of the Christian faith were grave and solemn actions ; but what ridiculous scenical stories, not to say blasphemous ones, meet us about the miracles of their saints ? He that would know this, may read the lives of St. Francis, and St. Dominick, St. Bridget, and the two St. Catharines, and he will be satisfied to a surfeit. The miracles also of Christ and his Apostles were acted publicly, in the view of all ; but most of these narrations of their wonders were transacted in corners, none being witnesses but persons concerned to own the cheat. And the doctrine of equivocating was a good cordial for the ease of their consciences, though they swore what they knew false, according to the natural sense of the words which they uttered. Thus we have many fables of Christ's appearing in the hosty, sometimes as a child, and sometimes as crucified, when but a very few of the whole company present were honoured with that amazing sight.

Further, the miracles of the Christian faith were written in the times in which they were acted, that so inquiries might have been made into their falsehood ; and the powers that then governed being enemies to the faith, it was safe for its opposers to have proved and discovered their forgery, had they been such. But many of the miracles of Rome are not heard of, till some ages, at least years, be past, whereby they are secure from the after-game of a discovery ; and he were a stout man

that would adventure to question the verity of these pretences at Rome, where it is the interest of that Church to have them all believed, without once questioning them. But how comes it, that in heretical countries (as they call them) where there is more need of these miracles, and where they might be more irrefragably proved, if true, since the examiners of them were not to be suspected, yet none of these mighty works do shew themselves forth? Certainly, that they are to this day so rife in Italy and Spain, and so scant in Britain, is a shrewd ground to apprehend legerdemain and forgery, in the accounts we get of their later saints. And indeed the contrivers of these stories have not managed their design by half so well as need was, for they have bestowed as many of them on one person, as might have sainted the half of an order. But the gain that is made by new saints, and new relics, is well enough known, not to speak of the general advantage that Church pretends to draw from it.

In fine, though some things among them did seem to surpass the known powers of nature, these ought not to prevail upon us for departing from the truth, “since though an angel from heaven preached another gospel, he is to be accursed.” Gal. i. 8. If then they have so changed the Christian doctrine by their additions and inventions, that it is become thereby as another gospel, none of the seemingly seraphical appearances they may have among them, though true, ought to reconcile us to it; and that the rather, since we are expressly guarded against this imposture, by St. Paul, who gave it as an indication of the son of perdition, that his coming was after the power of Satan, “with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.” 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10. And it is a part of their curse, that they are given up to strong delusions to believe lies. The beast also that appeared to St. John, Rev. xiii. 13. did great wonders, so that he made fire come down from heaven in the sight of men, and deceived many that dwelt on the earth, by these miracles which he had power to do. But to conclude this my greatest quarrel at these forgeries of miracles is, that the people being taught to believe them, and the miracles of the Gospel, with an equal certainty, since they have the testimony of the Church for both; and they seeing such evident characters of fraud and forgery on these supposed miracles, whereby they are convinced of their falsehood, are thereby in danger of suspecting all the miracles of the Gospel, as the tricks of subdolous and crafty

men, whereby they run headlong to an atheistical believing the truth of all alike. And thus far we have found how opposite that Church is to the spouse of Christ, since her doctrines are so ill-founded, and look so like cunningly devised fables, without the authority of divine inspiration, or the proof of true miracles.

The next character of our faith is its perspicuity and simplicity, all being called to the clear light of the day in it, and every part of it being so genuine, that it is apparent it was not the contrivance of designing men, that, by the belief of it, they might obtain the power, and possess the riches of the world. And therefore there are no secret doctrines in our faith, which must be kept up from the vulgar, whereby the pastors of Christendom may have dominion over their souls. But what must we conclude of them, who by all means study to keep all of their communion ignorant, as if devotion were thereby nourished, and allow them not the use of the Scriptures in their mother-tongue, nor a worship which they can understand, whereby it is, that they who occupy the room of unlearned, cannot say Amen at the giving thanks, since they understand not what is said. To this might be added their implicit faith, to all the doctrines of the Church, without further inquiries, and their blind obedience to the confessarius, be he never so ignorant and carnal. These are certainly darkening opinions and practices, and far different from the methods of the Apostles, in preaching the Gospel, who withheld from the people nothing of the counsel of God, and studied the enlightening their understandings, as well as the enlivening of their wills.

But further, how much of interest appears in the doctrines of Rome, which tend to the exalting or enriching the papacy and inferior clergy, for it is visible what a trade they drive by them, and all the contrivances, all the projectors in Europe ever fell upon for enriching their master's treasury, falls short of the projects of purgatory, the treasure of the Church, indulgences, and the Pope's absolute authority, in making, abrogating, and dispensing with all positive laws. Neither is there more of design to be found in the Alcoran, than in the mysteries of that Caliph of the Spiritual Babylon. And we may guess of their concernedness in these matters, since a gentler censure may be hoped for upon the violation of the greatest of the laws of God, than upon the least contradiction to their idolized interest. The one is the constant subject

of their studies and sermons, whereas the other is seldom minded.

The third character of our faith is, that it is rational and suitable to our souls, God having fitted it, and framed them so harmoniously, that they are congenial one to another. It is true, the mysteries about God and Christ are exalted above the reach of our faculties, but even reason itself teacheth that it must be so, since if there be a God, he must be infinite and incomprehensible ; and therefore it is not to be wondered, if the Scriptures offer some mysteries to us about God and Christ, which choke and stifle the impressions we are apt to take of things. But in these it is visible, that the object is so disproportioned to our faculties, that it is impossible we can reach or comprehend it ; but as for the other parts of religion, they are all so distinctly plain, that the reasonableness, as well as the authority of them, serve to commend them to us ; but how void are they of this, who have made one of the chief articles of their faith, and the greatest matter of their worship, that which is not only beyond, but contrary to, the most common impressions of nature, which teacheth us to believe our senses when under no lesion, and duly applied to a proper object. For indeed, in that case, we cannot really doubt but things are as they appear to us, for we cannot believe it midnight, when we clearly see the sun in the meridian ; nay, and our faith rests on the evidences our senses give, since we believe, because miracles were clearly seen by these who first received the faith. "And Christ said, belief me for the very works sake," John xiv. 11. And so their sight of these works was a certain ground for their belief, therefore the senses uninitiated, fixing on a proper object, through a due mean, are infallible ; therefore what our sight, our taste, and our touch, tell us is bread and wine, must be so still, and cannot be imagined to have changed its substance, upon the recital of the five words. Shall I add to this, that throng of absurdities which crowd about this opinion ? For if it be true, then a body may be in more places at once, triumphing in glory in one, and sacrificed in a thousand other places : and a large body may be crowded into the narrow space of a thin wafer, they holding it to be not only wholly in the whole wafer, but also entirely in every crumb of it. A body can be without dimensions, and accidents without a subject. These must be confessed to be among the highest of inconceivables ; and yet these miracles must be believed to be produced every day in above a hundred thousand

places. Certainly, he hath a sturdy belief, who can swallow down all these absurdities, without choking on them.

It is little less inconceivable to imagine, that a man of no eximous sanctity (nay, perhaps of noted impiety), nor extraordinary knowing (nay, perhaps grossly ignorant), in theological matters, shall have the Holy Ghost so absolutely at his command, that whatever he decrees, must be the dictates of the Spirit. And what an unconceivable mystery is the treasure of the Church, and the Pope's authority to dispense it as he will ? No less inconceivable is the efficacy of the Sacraments, by the work wrought ; nor is any thing more affronting to reason than the barbarous worship. And of a piece with this is the blind subjection pleaded for the confessarius's injunctions, and their opinions of expiating their sins by a company of little trifling penances, which tend not to the cleansing the soul, nor killing of the life of sin, much less can be able to appease God, either of their own inbred worth, or by reason of any value God is pleased to set on them, either by command or promise. But should I reckon up everything among them that chokes reason, I should dwell too long on this, and reckon over most of the things that have been through the whole discourse hinted, which seem to stand in the most diametrical opposition to the clearest impressions of all men's reason.

But to bring my enquiry to an issue, easiness and gentleness are by Christ applied to his yoke, laws, and burden ; and whatever opposition or trouble they may give to the carnal man, by mortifying his lusts, and contradicting all his inordinate and unlimited desires, yet by the rational faculties and powers they are both easily understood and practised. Indeed, religion lies in few things, and its chief work is the reforming and purifying the inward man, where it mainly dwells and exerts its force and virtue ; but these who have added so much, both to be believed and done, beyond what our Lord prescribed, as they accuse his unfaithfulness, so bring unsupportable burdens on the consciences of Christians. These therefore who lead out the mind, by presenting a great many foreign objects to it, do introduce superannuated Judaism, instead of that liberty Christ brought with him unto the world. But shall I number up here all the impositions of that Church, whose numbers are great as well as their nature grievous ? For it is a study to know them all. But what a pain must it be to perform them ? It is a work which will take up a great deal of time to understand the rubrics of their missals, breviaries, rituals, and pontificals. In

a word, they have left the purity and simplicity of religion, and set up instead of it a lifeless heap of ordinances, which must oppress, but cannot relieve, the consciences of their disciples.

Shall I add to this the severity of some of their orders, into which, by unalterable vows, they are engaged their whole lives? Now whatever fitness might be in such discipline, upon occasions, for beating down the body, or humbling the mind, yet it must be very tyrannical to bind the perpetual observance of these on any by oath; for thereby all the rest of their lives may become insupportably bitter to them, wherein they stand obliged, under perjury, to the perpetual observance of some severe discipline; which, though at first in a novitiate fervour might have had its good effects upon them, yet, that drying up, it will afterwards have no other effect but the constant dejecting of the soul; and so their life will be a rack to them by their perpetual toil in these austerties. This I speak of those who seem the chief ornaments of that Church, whose devotion doth for the most part turn to outwards, and rests in the strict observance of their rules, not without voluntary assumed mortifications, which they add to them, but wherein they for the most part glory; and so the life of pride and self-love (the subtlest of all our enemies) is fed and nourished by them. Neither can we think that these, whose exercises are so much external, can be so recollected for the inward and serene breathings of the mind after God and Christ, without which all externals, though they seem to make a fair show in the flesh, yet are but a skillet of lifeless and insipid things. But, indeed, they have studied to remove this objection of the uneasiness of their religion, by accommodating it so that the worst of men may be secure of heaven, and enjoy their lusts both, according to the corrupt conduct of some of their spiritual fathers: but what I have hinted of the uneasiness of their religion, is taken from the nature of their devotions, in their highest altitude and elevation.

And thus far I have pursued my design, in the tract whereof, I have not been void of a great deal of pain and sorrow: for what pleasure can any find by discovering so much wickedness, and so many errors in the christened regions of the world; and see the holy and beautiful places, wherein the former ages worshipped God in the spirit, turned to be habitations of idols and graven images, by which God is provoked to jealousy. God is my witness, how these thoughts

have entertained me with horror and regret all the time I have considered them : and that I am so far from being glad that I have found so much corruption in the Roman Church, that it is not without the greatest antipathy to my nature imaginable that I have paid this duty to truth, by asserting it with the discovery of so many impostures, which have so long abused the Christian world ; and if any heat or warmth hath slipped from my pen, I must protest sincerely, it is not the effect of anger or passion, but of a tender and zealous compassion for those souls, who are either already blinded with these delusions, or do incline towards those paths which lead to the chambers of death.

I am none of those who justify rage or bitterness against those in errors ; for if we had the Spirit of Christ in us, we should mourn over and lament their misery, who lie under so much darkness. And this is a sure character to judge if our zeal for God and his truth be divine and evangelical if it makes us pour out rivers of tears for those that have gone out of the way, rather than streams of fire against them. That zeal which raiseth melting sorrow, tender compassion, and fervent prayers for those we see erring, is Christ-like, and worthy of that meek and charitable spirit which the Gospel so much recommends : whereas that which boils into rage and foam against such as err, and designs their ruin and mischief, and studies how to persecute rather than convert them, and kindles in men a bitter aversion to their persons, together with rude harshness in their behaviour to them, is all anti-Christian and carnal. My design, therefore, in this discourse, is to provoke pity rather than wrath, and tears more than flames, towards those deceived multitudes ; that we may pray for them rather than rail at them.

But my chief aim is to persuade all who love their souls, to consider the danger of continuing in the communion of a Church that hath not only fallen from her first love and purity, but hath in so many great and essential points corrupted our most holy faith, and adulterated the pure sincerity of our worship.

I shall not here search into the depths of the mercies of God, how far they may reach any of that communion, nor examine how far they hold the foundation, Christ, notwithstanding of all the base superstructures they have reared upon it ; nor shall I consider how far invincible ignorance may excuse the guilt of an error, nor how applicable this may be

to them ; nor shall I discuss how far the private differing from these errors may in many things secure some of the individuals of that communion from the general guilt that lies over them : upon all particulars many things may be said, and none alive is more willing to stretch his invention for finding out grounds to fix his charity on, than myself. But all I can devise falls short of a full and satisfying excuse for those, who being educated in the knowledge of the truth and sincerity of the Gospel, do fall away into the errors and superstitions of that Church ; nor can I imagine what their temptations should be to it, except one of two : the first is, that they desire a sensible religion, and therefore loathe the simplicity and spirituality of the Gospel, and love to have some glorious objects in worship to strike on, and affect their senses : but however this may make impression on the grosser rabble, yet certainly, any that considers that the perfection of man lies in his reason, and not in his outward senses, and that the exaltation of reason is religion ; he must confess, that the less it dwells in the senses, and the more inward it becomes on the reason, it is the more suitable both to the nature of God, of religion, and of the rational faculties. But the other consideration that may draw many to that religion is yet worse, which is, because in it a great allowance is given to all manner of sin, by the treacherous conduct of some confessors, who persuade men of Heaven on terms very easy and pleasing to flesh and blood. And hence it is that we see very few who have expressed any affection to a devout life, abandoning us to go over to the Roman communion, most of those who do so (except it be one of a thousand) being as void of virtue, as ignorant of the nature of true religion, that we may say, 1 John ii. 19, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they had not gone out from us."

These being the only visible temptations to entice any from our communion to theirs, it is hard to preserve any great degrees of charity for them : for a third temptation being that only which can work on a devout mind, takes with so few among us, that I need scarce name it : which is the solitary and retired houses among them for leading a devout and strict life, and the excellent books of devotion that have been published by many of that communion. This I know wrought mightily on one, and made him many times wish that he could, with a good conscience, throw himself into one of these religious

houses; but the consideration of these great corruptions lay so in his way, that without doing the greatest force on his conscience imaginable, and thereby securing to himself damnation, by complying with things he judged so damnable, he durst not do it. Yet, for his further satisfaction, he went among them to see if their worship appeared more amiable in practice than it did in writings; but I have heard him often declare, that though his mind was as free from prepossessions as perhaps ever man's was, yet all he conceived of them, even from the writings of their adversaries, was nothing compared with the impressions which the sight of their worship left upon him, it appearing so histrionical in all its circumstances, and so idolatrous in its substance, especially as he saw the vulgar practice it. And for their religious houses, he was among a great many of all orders, but was far from meeting with that spirit of devotion he had hoped to find among them; for they always magnified their order, and the little external austerities and devotion of it; but for genuine humility, a delight in God and Christ, abstraction from the world (for all their frocks and retirements), sincere heavenly-mindedness, and fervent charity to the brethren, he regretted that he had met with little of it among them. And that he found the several orders full of emulation and envy at other orders, and of heats among themselves, which made him see, that he who meant to lead a devout life, must choose another sanctuary than any of these that he saw in that communion.

I deny not that it is the greatest defect in the Reformation, that there are not in it such encouragements to a devout life; though the entanglement of vows to things without our power is a manifest invasion of the Christian liberty; and to languish out one's life in a tract of lazy devotion, without studying to serve God in our generation, seems contrary to the intendment of religion, a great many of its precepts being about those duties we owe our neighbours: yet, for all this, it is not to be denied to be a great defect, that we want recluse houses for a stricter training up of those who design to lead a spiritual life, and to serve in the Gospel, that their minds being rightly formed before their first setting out, they may be well qualified and furnished for their work. Such houses might also be retreating places for old persons, after they had served their generation, and were no more able to undergo toil and fatigue; they might be also sanctuaries for devout persons, in times of their greater afflictions or devotions. But for all this want, it

fixeth no imputation on our Church, her doctrine, or worship, that she is so poor as not to be able to maintain such seminaries. But, by the way, it is no great character of the piety of their Church, that she abounds so with great and rich donations, when we consider the arts they have used for acquiring them, by making people believe themselves secure of heaven by such donations : indeed, had we got our people befooled into such persuasions the cheat might have prospered as well in our hands ; but we are not of those who handle the word of God deceitfully ; nor will we draw the people even to do good with a crafty guile, or lie for God.

But now, as a conclusion to this discourse, I must consider if all things among us be so sound and well grounded, that with a quiet mind and good conscience every one may hold communion with our Church, and hope for salvation in it ; I shall therefore briefly run over the nature and characters of the Christian faith, to see if any contradiction to them, or any part of them, be found among us. And first of all, we worship God in spirit, as a Spiritual Being, with suitable adorations which we direct to no image or symbol of the Divine presence, but teach that we ought not to figure God to any corporal being, no, not in our thoughts ; neither do we worship any beside God the Father, Son, and Spirit : we also worship Christ, but as he is God, and hath the fullness of the God-head dwelling in him bodily : angels indeed we honour, but knowing them to be our fellow-servants we cannot pray to them, or fall down before them : we count the holy Virgin blessed among women, but dare give her no share of the glory due to her Son : all the saints we reverence and love ; but knowing God to be “a jealous God,” we cannot divide that honour among them which is only due to him, and therefore do neither worship them, their images, nor their relics. We desire also to offer up to God such sacrifices as we know are well pleasing to him, prayers, praises, broken and contrite hearts, and our souls and bodies ; but reject all charms and enchantments from our worship, as contrary to the reasonable service which is acceptable to God, and to retain the genuine simplicity of the Gospel-worship in a plain and intelligible style and form, without any mixtures drawn from Judaism and Gentilism : and thus there is nothing among us contrary to the first design of religion.

And as little will be found against the second, which is the honour due to Christ in all his offices. We teach our people

to study the Scriptures, and to examine all we say by them, and exhort them to depend on God, who by his Spirit will teach them as well as us ; neither do we pretend to an authority over their consciences, but acknowledge ourselves men of like infirmities with the people, who are all called to be a royal priesthood ; and thus we honour Christ's prophetical office, by founding our faith only on the divine authority of the Scriptures. " We also believe there is no name given under heaven by which we can be saved, but the name of Christ, who laid down his life a ransom for our souls, that by his cross we might be reconciled to God ;" and it is to that one sacrifice that we teach all to fly for obtaining remission of sins, and the favour of God, trusting only to it, and to nothing we have done or can do ; knowing that when we have done all we can do, we are but unprofitable servants ; much less do we hope for any thing from any of our fellow creatures. We apply our souls to no intercessor but Christ, and trust to no satisfaction but his ; and we acknowledge him the only king of his Church, whose laws must bind it to the end of the world. Neither do we acknowledge any other authority but his over our consciences. It is true, in things indifferent he hath left a power with his Church to determine in those matters, which may tend to advance order, edification, peace, and decency ; but as the Church cannot add to our faith, so neither can it institute new pieces of worship, which shall commend us to God, or bind any load upon our souls. We own a ministerial authority in all the pastors of the Church, which they derive from Jesus Christ, and not from any visible head on earth, and therefore they are only subject to Christ. We also hold that the civil powers are of Christ, whose Gospel binds the duty of obedience to them more closely on us ; and therefore if they do wrong, we leave them to Christ's tribunal, who set them up, but pretend to no power from his Gospel to coerce or resist them ; and thus we honour Christ in all his offices, and so are conform to the second branch of the design of our faith.

We also receive the third with the same fidelity ; and whatever the practices of too many among us be, yet there is no ground to quarrel our doctrine. We preach repentance to all, and study to convince them of their misery and lost estate, that they may mourn for their sins and turn to God by a new course of life ; we preach faith through Christ in God, as that which unites our souls to him, by which we are in Christ, and Christ is in us. We stir up our people " to love the Lord their

God with all their heart, strength, soul, and mind, and to wait for his Son Christ Jesus, who is the hope of glory, and shall change our vile bodies into the likeness of his glorious body." And from this great motive do we press our people to the study of holiness, without which they shall never see God. We send them to the Ten Commandments for the rule of their lives, whose exposition we chiefly take from Christ's Sermon on the Mount ; neither can we be charged for having taught the people to break one of the least of these Commandments. We exhort all our hearers to make the life of Christ the pattern of theirs, and to learn of him who was meek and lowly in heart ; neither can our Church be accused of having taught any carnal doctrines for gratifying the base interest of the flesh, or for engrossing the power and treasure of the world, the subsistence of our churchmen being but a livelihood and not a treasure. In a word, we preach Christ and him crucified, and all the rules of his Gospel, for ordering the conversation aright, without adding or taking from it ; and thus our conformity to the third branch of Christianity appears.

We teach also, according to the fourth branch of Christianity, the doctrines of charity ; neither do we condemn any who hold the foundation, though in some lesser matters they differ from us : but hope they may be saved as well as we. We abhor the doctrine of cruel persecuting of any for their consciences. The utmost we allow of, or desire of that nature, being the preservation of our own societies pure from the contagion of other traffickers, and the driving from us those who do so disturb us. All the authority we give the Church is paternal, and not tyrannical ; our churchmen we hold to be the pastors, but not the lords of the flock, who are obliged to feed them sincerely, both by their doctrine, labours, and whole conversation. But we pretend to no blind obedience due to their directions ; and count them noble Christians, who search and try all they say by that test of the Scriptures. We send the people to confess their sins to God, from whom only we teach them to expect their pardon ; and pretend to no other keys, but ministerial ones, over public and known scandals. In our worship, as all do understand it, so every one may join in it. And in the number, use, and simplicity of our sacraments, we have religiously adhered to the rules of the Gospel, we holding them to be solemn federal rites of our stipulation with God : in which, if we do worthily partake of them, we are assured of the presence of the divine spirit and grace, for uniting our souls more en-

tirely to God, and advancing us in all the ways of the spirit of life ; and if the institution of them in the Gospel be compared with our administration of them, it will appear how close we have kept to our rule.

And thus we see how exactly conformable the doctrine of our Church is to the whole branches of the Christian design ; upon which it is not to be doubted, but the characters of the Christian religion will also fit ours. We found our faith only on the Scriptures ; and though we pay a great deal of venerable esteem to the Churches of God during their purity, which continued above four centuries, and so be very willing to be determined in rituals and matters that are external and indifferent by their opinions and practices ; yet our faith settles only on the word of God, and not on the traditions of men ; neither do we believe every spirit that pretends to raptures and visions, but try the spirits, whether they be of God or not ; “ and though an angel should preach to us another Gospel, we should hold him accursed.” The miracles we trust to, as the proofs of the truth of that revelation which we believe, are only those contained in the Scriptures ; and though we believe there was a wonder-working power continued for some time in the Church, yet we make a great difference betwixt what we historically credit, and what we religiously believe ; neither will we, for supporting our interest or authority, have recourse to that base trade of forging lying wonders ; but we rest satisfied with the miracles Christ and his Apostles wrought for the proof of the religion we own, since what we believe is no other than what they taught ; and therefore we leave the trade of forging new miracles to them who have forged a new religion.

And for the plain genuineness of the Gospel, we have not departed a step from it, since we call upon our people by all the motives we can devise, and with all the earnestness we are masters of, to receive full and clear instruction in all the matters of our religion, which we distinctly lay open to them. And nothing of interest or design can be charged on us, who pretend to nothing but to be the stewards of the mysteries of God ; nor have we offered to sophisticate the simplicity of our worship by any additions to it ; for the determining about some particular forms is no addition to worship, but only the following forth of these precepts of doing all things to edification, peace, and order. But an addition to worship is, when any new piece of divine service is invented, with a pretence of our being more acceptable to God thereby, or of our receiving grace by

that conveyance ; and therefore any rites we have, as they are not without some hints from Scripture, so we pretend not to become any way acceptable to God by them.

Further, we teach no irrational nor unconceivable doctrine. It is true, there are mysteries in our faith, and even reason itself teacheth that these must be unconceivable ; but for all our other persuasions, they are such as may be well made out to the rational faculties of man ; therefore we do not betake ourselves to that sanctuary, that we must be believed, assert what we please ; but we assert nothing but what we offer to evince by the clearest proofs. And, in fine, we add nothing to the burthensomeness of the laws of Christ, but teach and propose them as we have them from his Gospel, without adding, changing, or altering a tittle from the first institution.

And so far have I considered the doctrine and worship of our Church : wherein, if I could justify all our practices, as well as I can do our principles, there were no grounds to fear hurt from all the cavils of mortals. But for bad practices, whatsoever matter of regret they may furnish us with, they afford none for separation. Therefore there is no ground that can justify a separation from our Church, much less warrant the turning over from us to the communion of Rome. And thus far have I pursued my designed enquiry ; which was, if with a safe conscience any might adjoin themselves to the Popish religion, or if communion with our Church was to be kept and continued in ; and have found great grounds to assert the evident hazards of the former, so that no man to whom his salvation and welfare is dear, can or ought to join himself to that Church. On the other hand, without renting the body of Christ, none can or ought to depart from our churches. But I leave the perusal and considering of these things to the serious reader, to whom I hope they may give some satisfaction, if he bring with him to the enquiry an attentive, serious, and unbiassed mind. And I leave the success of this, and every other attempt of this nature, for the clearing of divine truth with Him who is the only fountain of blessings, who is over all, God blessed for evermore. Amen.

BOOK II.

THE REFORMATION VINDICATED FROM THE CHARGE OF SCHISM.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE UNITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH MAINTAINED IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

WHOSOEVER, with an impartial eye, and a truly religious concern for the honour of God, the credit of the Gospel, and the salvation of men, looks into the estate of Christendom, he will scarce find any greater cause of sorrowful reflections, than from the many divisions and animosities which have distracted and separated its parts.

These have opened the mouths, and whetted the tongues of professed enemies to reviling invectives and profane scoffs against our blessed Lord himself, and his holy religion, and stifled the first thoughts of admitting the most convincing truths to a debate among Jews, Turks, or Pagans, and stopped their ears against the wisest charms.

To no one cause can we more reasonably impute the small progress which Christianity hath made in the world for a thousand years past. The same contests have as pernicious influence at home, upon the faith or manners of those within the pale of the Church.

Men are hereby too soon tempted into some degree of scepticism about many material points of Christian doctrine, in which they observe so many to differ among themselves. Others are the more easily seduced to seek and make much of all arguments, whereby to baffle or weaken the clearest evidences for their conviction; and they seldom continue long in the same persuasion with those, with whom they will not maintain the same communion. Thus schisms have generally ended in heresies.

As mischievous are the effects of these distractions upon the manners of Christians. There are many vicious and disorderly passions, such as anger, hatred, revenge, pride, censoriousness,

&c. which take sanctuary therein, and under that shelter put in their claim for the height of Christian graces, and the most holy zeal for God and his cause. Every where they break, or loosen the discipline of the Church, which should guard its children from doing amiss, or restore them after it, when the last and most capital punishment of being thrust out of its communion is likely to be little dreaded, where many voluntarily desert it with the highest pretences of better advantage elsewhere.

Now though this matter of fact, confirmed by woful experience, be a subject too sad for a long meditation, or passionate enlargement, yet it is no more than what might have been foreseen without a spirit of prophecy, to follow from the corrupt nature and depraved estate of mankind not otherwise rectified. Wherefore we must suppose that our ever blessed Saviour, in the foundations of his holy institution, made all needful provision to prevent these fatal miscarriages.

By the sufficient revelation of all fundamental articles of belief; by the as full declaration of all the necessary precepts of good life; by inculcating frequently, and pressing most emphatically those commands concerning love, peace, unity, good order, humility, meekness, patience, &c., directly opposed to those contentions in every page of the New Testament. These it may suffice but to name.

It will soon be granted, after the best provision of rules, and most convincing arguments and motives to strengthen them, that there will be need of some government to encourage all in their performance, to restrain some from offering violence to them, and to provide for many emergencies.

Our blessed Lord and master therefore, for the better security of his truth, and the safer conduct of those which adhere to it, established a society or church in the world, which he purchased with the most inestimable price, dignified with the highest privileges, encouraged with the largest promises, backed with the most ample authority, and will always defend with the strongest guard, against all power or policy on earth, or under the earth, so that, as he hath told us, “the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”

But now where this Church is to be found, and what are the measures of our obligation to it, hath been a long and great debate, especially between us and the Romanists. In most of their late controversial books they have seemed ready to waive disputes about particular points, in hopes of greater advan-

tage, which they promise themselves from this venerable name, and that bold, though most false and presumptuous claim which they lay to the thing itself, even exclusive to all others, which will appear from the true, but short and plain state of the case between us, the chief design of this attempt.

Now that we may not charge them, nor they us falsely or rashly;

I.—It may be convenient, first, to lay down some principles concerning this Church, in which they and we seem mostly agreed, though all our writers express not themselves alike clearly herein.

II.—To propound the chief bands of unity within this Church.

III.—To mark out the most obvious defections from them by the Romanists.

IV.—To shew the reformation in the Church of England proceeded, and was framed with all due regard to the preservation of them.

V.—To clear it of the most common objections.

VI.—To consider the strong obligations from hence upon all sorts of dissenters among us to embrace, and continue in its communion.

I.—The former will soon be despatched, which I reduce to the following particulars.

1. That our blessed Saviour always had, and always will have a Church in the world, in which his doctrine hath been, and shall be so far professed, and his sacraments so effectually administered, that they who rightly improve them, may not want necessary supplies for their present spiritual life, or future hopes of salvation; though the extent of the Church, as to its boundaries, and the perfection of it in degrees, may be vastly different at one time, and in one place, from another. This, many prophecies in the Old Testament, and promises from our Saviour in the New, give abundant ground for our faith to rely upon, and the experience of all ages hitherto hath confirmed.

2. That this Church is a distinct society within itself, furnished with sufficient authority in some to govern, and obligations in others to be subject, necessary to every society; which the power of the keys given by our Lord to receive in, or shut out, and the exercise of discipline from divine precept, and Scripture examples, evince beyond all exception. But then this ecclesiastical power, in whomsoever placed, or strained to

what height soever, can never extend to vacate, or change the express institutions of Christ, or take away our obligation to his revealed truth, and direct commands. In case of any competition, the Apostle's defence may be ours, "We must obey God rather than men." And St. Paul's profession, "We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." And again, "If we, or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel, &c., let him be accursed," Gal. i. 8.

3. This Church must be visible, as every society is more or less, whose parts are so, and whose profession must be so. Our entrance into it is in a visible manner by baptismal initiation. Our obliged communion with it is in divers outward sensible acts, which the representation of it by a body or building might prove. More clearly it is likened to a "city on a hill, which cannot be hid," Matt. v. 14, set up as the "light of the world," an ensign to the Gentiles, which all nations should flee unto, or else it would witness against them; wherein its followers should take sanctuary, and find a refuge.

4. Within these boundaries we have the only hopes of safety here, and happiness hereafter. What God may do by his supereminent unaccountable power, in an extraordinary case, is presumption for us but to inquire into. Out of this ark there is no prospect given to us of any escape from the universal deluge.* All the spiritual promises concerning this life or a better, are made to this Church, the member of his body, who is the head. Therefore the Apostles preach to Jews and Gentiles the necessity of receiving this character, "Seeing there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved," as St. Peter attests, Acts iv. 12.

* S. Cyprian, Ep. 60. p. 143. [1682.] Ed. Ox. Si aliquis ex talibus fuerit apprehensus, non est quod sibi quasi in confessione Nominis blandiatur, cum constet si occisi ejus modi extra Ecclesiam fuerint, Fidei coronam non esse, sed poenam potius esse perfidiæ. Nec in Domo Dei inter unanimos habitaturos esse, quos videmus de pacifica et Divina Domo furore discordiæ recessisse. S. August. et cæteri in Conc. Cirensi adv. Donatistas. Ep. 152. t. 2. p. 696. Edit. Prob. 556. [1679, vol. 2. Ed. Ben. Epist. 141. n. 5.] Quisquis ergo ab hac Ecclesia Catholica fuerit separatus, quantumlibet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo scelere quod a Christi unitate disjunctus est, non habebit vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eum. Quisquis autem in hoc Ecclesia bene vixerit, nihil ei præjudicant aliena peccata. Idem, Ep. 204. ad Donatum Presbyterum Donatist. t. 2. p. 834. [Id. Ep. 173. n. 6.] Foris autem ab Ecclesia constitutus, et separatus a compage unitatis, et vinculo Charitatis, æterno supplicio punireris, etiamsi pro Christi nomine vivus incendereris.

5. This Church is but one. It is an article of our faith, expressed in our Creed, to believe it so. For there be many members, yet but one body. One Spirit quickening all ; one Lord, and one God, and Father of all ; Head over all ; one faith ; one baptism ; one hope of our calling in all, as the Apostle argues, Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6, 7, &c.

II. Now we are to inquire what are the chief bands of unity in the Church, which make, keep, and evidence it to be one ; how we may secure ourselves within this garden enclosed, this spring shut up, this fountain sealed, as the ancients usually apply that, Cant. iv. 12. to this one enclosure of the Church.

1. This appears in the unity of belief, not only inwardly, but in the outward profession of the same faith which was once delivered to the saints, and hath been generally preserved and continued down throughout all ages of the Church. In testimony whereof the most eminent bishops upon their first consecration, sent to their brethren confessions of their faith.

2. In the unity of charity,* and affection as fellow-members one of another, as well as of the same head ; that if one suffer all the rest suffer with it ; and if one rejoice, all rejoice with it. Having an intimate fellow-feeling of all the good or evil which befalls any joined in so near a relation, beyond the compassion of ordinary humanity, whereby we are bound not only to pray for, but by all offices of kindness, and most intimate affection, especially to assist and relieve each other in the same household of faith. So that by our personal consecration all our labours and estates are in some measure devoted to the honour of God, the service of his Church, and the necessities of any of its members.

* Tertullian de proscript. Hæret. c. 20. p. 209. Sic omnes primæ, et Apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem. Dum est communicatio Pacis, et appellatio Fraternitatis, contesseratio Hospitalitatis, quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem Sacramenti una traditio.

S. August. adv. literas Petilianæ, t. 7. p. 132. [Paris, 1837, vol. 9. l. ii. col. 426. B.] Charitas Christiana nisi in unitate Ecclesiæ non potest custodiri. Et Ibid. p. 473. de Bapt. adv. Donatist. l. 6. [Paris, 1837, vol. 9. l. vi. col. 300. C.] Etiamsi Christi Baptismum usque ad Sacramenti celebrationem percepérunt, tamen vitam æternam nisi per Charitatis unitatem non consequuntur. Et Ibid. de unitate Ecclesiæ, c. 2. p. 510. [Paris, 1837, vol. 9. l. i. col. 538.] Ecclesia Corpus Christi est, [sicut Apostolus dicit pro corpore ejus quæ est Ecclesia] unde utique manifestum est eum, qui non est in membris Christi, Christianam salutem habere non posse, membra autem Christi per unitatis charitatem sibi copulantur, et per eandem capiti suo cohærent, quod est Christus Jesus.

3. In the unity of worship, whereby we are obliged not only to offer up the same worship for substance, but also in the outward act to join, and communicate with each other therein, to present the same prayers and praises, to celebrate together the same sacraments, to hear the same instructions, to frequent the same religious assemblies as much as possible ; that we may “with one mind, and with one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” Rom. xv. 6. For as the command of God, the honour of his religion, the edification of his Church, the propagation of his truth, and the peculiar promise of his presence and blessing, require a solemn public exercise of all religious worship in united congregations ; so hereby we must sensibly prove and secure our unity therein.* Whoever then needlessly separates himself from this Church, or refuses to join in communion with its members, so far as it is in his power, where he may, without violence to any doctrine or precept of Christ, such a one divides himself from his body, and so from all the promises that we know of the sacred and comfortable influences of that one Head and one Spirit.

4. In the unity of discipline,† whereby every act of any

* S. Augustin. adv. literas Petiliani, t. 7. p. 124. [Paris, 1837, vol. 9. l. ii. col. 414. A.] Huic Ecclesiæ, quæ per totam terram diffunditur, quisquis non communicat, vides cui non communicat.

Idem. Ep. 50. ad Bonifacium, t. 2. p. 230. [Paris, 1837, vol. 2. col. 994.] Ecclesia Catholica sola est corpus Christi, cuius ille caput est Salvator Corporis sui. Extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat Spiritus Sanctus, quia, sicut ipse dicit Apostolus, Charitas Dei diffusa est in Cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis : non est autem particeps Divinæ Charitatis, qui hostis est Unitatis. Et de Bapt. adv. Donatist. l. 3. c. 16. t. 7. p. 409. [Paris, 1837, vol. 9. l. 3. col. 209. C.] Ipsa est enim charitas quam non habent, qui ab Ecclesiæ Catholica communione præcisi sunt, &c. Non autem habet Dei charitatem, qui non diligit Ecclesiæ Unitatem.

S. Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 113. [Paris, 1726, p. 198.] Inexplicabilis, et gravis culpa discordiæ nec passione purgatur. Esse Martyr non potest qui in Ecclesia non est : ad regnum pervenire non potest, qui eam quæ regnatura est, derelinquit.

+ Tertullian. Apolog. c. 39. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ unitate et spei födere. Clerus ad D. Cyprian. Ep. 30. Ox. Ed. p. 56. [1682.] Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censuræ, et disciplinæ consensione sociati.

Ita etiam argumentatur idem Clerus Rom. adv. Marcionem excommunicatum a Patre suo, et ab iis non receptum, in S. Epiphonio, H̄er. 42. l. 1. t. 3. p. 303. Par. Edit. οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀνεν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις καὶ μία ἡ ὅμονοια, &c.

Synesius Epist. 58. p. 203 Lutetiæ Par. 1640. de censura in Andronicum, Thoantem, et eorum consortes, εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολῖτιν ἀποσκυβαλίσει

particular Church conformable to the institutions of our Saviour, and the universally received practice of his Church, stands confirmed as an act of the whole Church. Particularly, whoever is admitted into it accordingly by baptism in one place, is to be accounted a member of the Church Catholic, and received into its communion wherever he comes, if no evidence appear of his exclusion by any after regular censure. Likewise into whatever office or ministration any are orderly admitted in one part thereof, in the same are they to be acknowledged in all others, though without that particular jurisdiction which they had in their own. But whoever lies under any censure in one church he is to be supposed under the same in all others, and not to be received into communion till the sentence be reversed by the same power, or a still higher and greater authority, according to the fifth canon of the Council of Nice, and the design of their formed and communicatory letters, without which none were to pass from one church to another. Thus every church is accountable to its neighbour churches, and so to the whole Church for its actions, that one may not do what the other undoes, without any regard to this unity, which would lead to the confusion and distraction of all. Wherefore, to put an end to such differences when risen, or obviate any growing mischief thereby, and to receive appeals from persons who think themselves aggrieved, or injured by their own bishop or church, a council of all bishops in each province is appointed twice in the year by the same canon, and in many others. But there was no mention then of any farther or higher appeal.* Thus an amicable correspondence and intimate communication was maintained between the neighbour churches, and their governors, and by them with others removed at a greater distance throughout the world.

These need no long proof, but may be taken as generally

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δέξεται τὸν ἀποκερύκτους αὐτῆς, [ώς ἀνάγκη τῷ πενήτῃ πείθεσθαι ἵστω] σχίσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἷν μίαν ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βούλεται.

* S. Cyprian. ad Antonianum, p. 112. Ox. Ed. [1682.] Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus. Et Ep. 36. p. 71. [1682] Omnes enim nos decet pro Corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cuius per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare.

S. August. de unitate Ecclesiæ, c. 12. t. 7. p. 534. [Paris, 1688, vol. ix. p. 361. E.] Neque enim quia et in orbe terrarum plerumque Regna dividuntur, ideo Christiana Unitas dividitur, cum in utraque parte Catholica inveniatur Ecclesia.

granted ; the main dispute will lie in the particular application of the two last.

Now to prevent as much as may be all difficulties about them, it may be added to the third of unity of worship, that it will be very convenient, if not absolutely necessary in any settled established church, that there be some set forms of public ministrations, without which it is hard for any to know before hand what they join with, especially for strangers.

But then these forms should be as plain and simple as possible, with as little pretence as can be of any danger to the known will and word of God ; for no obligation whatsoever can tie me to communicate with another in that which he forbids ; and it will be a great temptation to more than suspect this danger, when men's private opinions or fanciful transports are mingled with them, which have little shew of Scripture, or the general practice of the Church in all ages to justify them.

The readiest way I know of to prevent that hazard, after all other care about the matters contained, is to endeavour that these offices be as near alike in all places as can well be ; yet every difference in judgment, when no violence is offered to the foundation of Catholic faith and unity, must not break this communion, according to that profession of St. Cyprian,* judging no man, nor excluding him from the right of communion, if he think otherwise : where the dispute was thought of no mean concern, especially in this cause. Which St. Augustine† oft alleges against the Donatists, that boasted so much of St. Cyprian's judgment against his declared practice. To the same purpose may be applied the treatment of St. Polycarp‡ in Rome by Anicetus the bishop, though they differed about the time of the celebration of Easter, and in other points which could not be agreed between them ; yet this last not only invited the former to communion with him, but also to celebrate the sacred Eucharist in his Church, as the words are generally interpreted ; which St. Irenæus not long after urges strongly against Victor, who was hastening to excommunicate the Asian churches for the same difference, contrary to his predecessor's practice.

As to the fourth of unity of discipline, if unity of government

* P. 229. Ox. Ed. in Concil. Carthaginensi de baptizandis Hæreticis. Neminem judicantes aut a jure communionis, si diversum senserit, amoventes.

† De Bapt. adv. Donat. l. 2. t. 7. p. 391, et saepe ibid.

‡ Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 26.

in all parts be not indispensably necessary to it, yet it will be so far, as not to abrogate or invade the positive institutions of our Saviour himself herein, and be more than convenient, that it be as conformable as it is in our power to make it in one place, to what it is in another. It seems horribly presumptuous, violently to thrust out of the Church that government, under the influence of which Christianity hath been conveyed, and preserved from the age of the Apostles in the most distant places, upon pretence of erecting a new better scheme or model of our own, or because of the intricate use of one or two terms in Scripture, when the Church was in its first formation, though against the plain current of it in other places, and the uninterrupted tradition of the whole Church. A church indeed must be more or less perfect, according to its government, for suitable will be the exercise and authority of its discipline. What allowance may be made for those who desire to come as near as they can to the primitive pattern, though it be not in their power to reach it in many considerable points, I am not now to dispute. But most inexcusable and highly obnoxious are they, that by extreme violence and usurpation endeavour to destroy what they found regularly established to their hands.

III. But we are here most concerned with the bold claims of the Romanists amidst their most obvious defections, who have made it the principal band of unity in the Catholic Church, to be subject to the See of Rome, and the pretended vicar of Christ therein, as the universal head and monarch of the Church. This they have determined as *de fide*, and put into their very creed, and excluded all that do not expressly own it.

But against this, as a great breach of Christian unity, we have many just exceptions, and been always ready to prove them so.*

1. In that no evidence from Scripture appears of any such authority conferred upon him or them; but many strong intimations of the contrary. The places usually alleged to make good their claim are so far fetched, and so little to their purpose, that they contain alone a strong presumption against them, and their own authors sometimes speak of them with great distrust. Here, if any where sure, we may safely argue without daring to

* Bishop Carleton, of three-fold jurisdiction. Dr. Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

prescribe rules to the Most High, that in a matter of so great moment, had it been designed, it would have been most explicitly delivered and solemnly inculcated.

2. But that it was not, we have further evidence from the silence of the most ancient and best Fathers of the Church herein, when they have occasion to explain the places insisted on; * nay, expressly expounding them to a quite different sense, and disowning any such authority of one Church, or bishop over others. And when the Roman bishop began any thing tending towards this, and grounded his claim upon a falsely alleged canon of the Council of Nice, not on any divine charter; after examination and proof of the forgery, other bishops wholly disclaim it, and declare against it, and warn him for the future not to disturb their regular proceedings by such unwarrantable practices :† as the African bishops, and the great St. Austin among them, in the case of appeals. It will be hard for them to find any thing like an argument or example of it within the first five centuries, at least which was not disowned and condemned by the rest of the Church, unless from such forged writings, which they themselves will scarce now defend.

3. In the following ages we have as good testimony from history, as almost in any other matter of fact, by what steps and in what manner this still growing power of the Church and Bishop of Rome advanced itself to the height which it now claims.‡

1. By usurpation upon the rights of other Churches, every degree of exaltation gained being the depression and diminution of them, till all power was in a manner swallowed up by the

* S. Cyprian. de unitate Ecclesiae post loca communiter allegata, p. 107. [Paris, 1726. p. 195.] quamvis Apostolis omnibus [post resurrectionem suam] parem potestatem tribuat, &c. paulo post. Hoc erant utique cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædicti honoris et potestatis.

Idem et alii in Concil. Carthaginensi, p. 229. [Paris, 1726. p. 330.] Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopus se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adgit.

S. Hieron. in Epist. ad Evagrium, t. 2. p. 329. [Goldastus de monachia, vol. 2. p. 19. Han. et Franc. 1614.] Si authoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubiunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rheygii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Potentia dicitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt.

† Vide Epist. Concilii Africani ad Bonifacium, t. 2. p. 1670, 1674. Concil. ult. Ed.

‡ See Dr. Cave's Dissertation of ancient Church Government, and Dr. Parker of the Government of the Church for the first six hundred years.

Papal ambition, and none left to any other, which was not dependent hereupon in its original, and altogether precarious in its administration : so that here alone it must be immediately derived from Christ, but to all others by commission from him. Thus, in the choice of the chief governors of the Church, all must await his consent and confirmation, where he does not alone forcibly obtrude them, and must pay for it a round sum for an acknowledgment at their entrance, and an after tributary pension out of their income, and take a formal oath of subjection at their admittance, and own their own authority from his delegation, and be liable to have their sentences reversed at his pleasure, and flee as far as his judicatory, and stand to the trial of it when he is pleased to call any cause to himself. Nay, if a controversy arise between him and any prince or state, the whole kingdom or nation shall lie at once under his interdict ; the clergy be withheld from the exercise of their function, and the people from the benefit of public divine worship and sacraments. Of these and such like effects of the plenitude of apostolic power so much talked of lately, they would do well to shew us anything like a plea from Scripture or antiquity within the bounds forementioned, or for some ages after in the greater part ; certainly so great a change could not be effected without some notice and complaints, strugglings and contentions, of which church history is full.

Their early faith spoken of throughout the world in St. Paul's time: the eminent zeal of the first bishops of that Church, most of whom, if we may credit the account generally received of them, sealed to the former with their blood : their continued constancy in the orthodox profession thereof, amidst the corruptions or defections of so many others, particularly in the time of the Arian persecution : the concurrent opinion of the foundation of their Church being laid by the two chief Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul ; and the honour of the imperial seat wherein they were placed, &c. gave them great repute and advantageous recommendation in those first ages. None will much contend with them about priority of order or precedence. But when the preeminence of the first bishop came to be improved into a patriarchate, and that swelled into the title of the universal bishop, which St. Gregory* so severely con-

* S. Greg. lib. 4. Regist. Ep. 32. [Paris, 1705. lib. v. Indictione xiii. Ep. 20. col. 749.] Absit a cordibus Christianorum nomen istud blasphemiae, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur, &c. Et alibi in Epist. passim.

demned in the Bishop of Constantinople, and that at last grew into the style of the sole Vicar of Christ, and sovereign monarch of the whole Church ; when the interposition of a friendly and brotherly arbitration, which all persons in distress or under the apprehensions of injury, are apt to flee unto and amplify, made way by degrees for the challenge of an ordinary jurisdiction, and that at first from the pretence of canonical privilege to that divine right and sanction, and then to prevent all scruple about its determinations, these must be backed with the vindication of an infallible conduct : when, instead of that charitable support they at first readily bestowed on other churches in their distress, they now made use of this power to rob them of what was left, taking the advantage of the poverty and oppression of some under the common enemy, or the confusion of others through domestic distractions, to raise themselves out of their spoils, then no wonder if other churches complain and struggle under that yoke, which they could not presently or easily throw off.

Indeed, had not this claim of the Church and Bishop of Rome risen to such an extravagant height in the arrogance of its pretended title, and been strained to that excess in the exercise of its assumed authority, so as not to leave it in the power of other churches to take all due and necessary care of their own members, or provide for them all needful supplies, these might more easily have borne their usurpation of more power than ever they could prove belonged to them. They that have learned the humility of Christ's school, and who are more concerned to perform their duty than vindicate their privilege, and know how much safer it is to obey than command, and easier to be governed than to govern, will not be much moved at what others fondly assume, knowing still that the more difficult account awaits them. But then this power became most intolerable, when it was made use of to purposes so much worse than itself ; which were, beside the former—

2. The weakening of the power of temporal princes, and disturbing the civil rights of men.* Although our blessed Saviour assured Pilate, his kingdom was not of this world, yet his pretended vicar here on earth can hardly say so ; for beside the temporal dominions unto which he hath entitled himself a sovereign prince, there are few other kingdoms or states on this side

* Cracanthorp's Defence of Constantine, and against the Pope's Temporal Monarchy.

of the world, in which he hath not, or had not, almost as great a share of the government as their immediate princes ; at least so far as to prescribe bounds to their administrations, and subject in great measure all laws and persons to his foreign courts, jurisdiction and decrees, yea, their purses to his exactions ; and upon the least dispute, hath withdrawn so great a number of his immediate dependents, who scarce own any other governors, and raised so many disturbances, that great princes and states have been forced at last to yield. Not to mention the arrogance it at length grew up unto in dethroning princes, giving their kingdoms to others, authorising their subjects to rebel against them, or always to oppose them, and what oft follows, if not expressed, to murder them ; as in their late sentence against some of our neighbour princes.

But before, much of this may be seen in the long contentions between some of the western emperors, particularly Henry the Third and Fourth, and the Popes, as we have them described in their own authours.* Also, to go no farther, their various contests with several of our kings, especially Henry the Second, and the almost continual complaints in all our Parliaments before the Reformation, of the encroachments made by them upon the civil rights of prince and subject, by vexatious and chargeable suits, and appeals as far as Rome ; by insolencies and divers rapines committed under the shelter of their protection, and defended from due punishment, and by their extravagant extortions, &c. abundantly prove.

Now though these usurpations grew by degrees and were practised in a different manner, according to the condition of those they had to do with, or the temper of him that managed them, yet they must needs seem more or less grievous to all, when power sufficient was not left to the greatest monarchs to defend themselves or protect their subjects, preserve the peace or promote the welfare, and provide for the security of their own countries. Then no marvel if some of them grow weary of so insupportable oppressions, and at last take courage to grapple with and extricate themselves from such manifest encroachments upon their own and the people's civil rights, as well as the ecclesiastical of the Church in their dominions, and be forced to some harsh and almost violent methods, when the more gentle and benign could prevail nothing.

3. But beside these more public invasions upon Church

* Sagonius de regno Italiae. and all other Historians of that time.

and State, that which made the usurpation more odious and insufferable, was the farther abuse of the same extravagant power to bring in strange and dangerous doctrines, corrupt and unlawful practices into the Church, and impose them upon all in her communion, exactly fitted to feed their ambition, enrich their coffers, secure their authority, and promote their ease and luxury. Such of the “first sort” are their doctrine of transubstantiation and purgatory, of merit and supererogation, the multiplicity of vows, and delusions in the principles of repentance, and ministration of penance. Of the “latter sort” are the invocation of saints and angels, adoration of relics and images, their half communion, the Scripture locked up, and divine service performed in an unknown tongue, &c.

These, and divers like them, have proved great scandals abroad, and stumbling-blocks at home ; and whatever varnish they may put upon them by the fairest pretences, or however they may cast a mist before the eyes of their disciples by nice distinctions, yet they have so disfigured the face of Christianity, that he who compares the late appearances of it in the world with the model of it laid down in Scripture, or the records of the primitive Church, can hardly believe it the same thing.

But the particulars are not here to be disputed, they have sufficiently been confuted and exposed by Protestant writers, and were by several before excepted against, and disclaimed, though some suffered severely for so doing, and many more we may suppose waited an opportunity to free themselves from their pressure. That which I am now most to insist upon, is this, that if the charge we draw up against these of falsehood in judgment, gross superstition or idolatry in worship, and immorality in manners, be true and impartial, as we have been ever ready to make good, and shall do against all the artifices of the defendants ; then no authority whatever, however regularly founded, or unexceptionably conveyed, can oblige us to these, against the revealed will or word of God, the dictates of our consciences, as we hope carefully, and rightly informed ; the sense and reason of mankind, and the belief and practice of the Church in the first and purest ages.

Greater cause was there to endeavour by all lawful means to throw off such an usurped power, that made so ill use of what it had unjustly gotten, and to restore religion to its primitive beauty in doctrine, worship, and precepts in life.

But alas ! many difficulties lay in the way of its accomplishment, and all possible strugglings and contentions by force

and policy, were used by the adverse party to prevent its beginning, or obstruct its progress. Great was their interest in every place; strong was the influence they had upon persons in authority; numerous were their assistants and dependents at home and abroad; weighty was their concern which lay at stake, and many were the advantages which they had of any that opposed them: so that no wonder if a reformation, so long wished for, and much wanted, were so slowly effected. It is rather more strange, that in so many places it did master these and such like encumbrances, and in so short a time made so considerable a progress. If in some places it proceeded with less order, uniformity, and calmness, than could have been wished for in a religious reformation, necessity in part, with many perplexed difficulties and incumbrances, may in some measure excuse what no law beforehand fully warrants.

IV.—But leaving others to answer for themselves, in my next particular I am to consider how regularly and sedately it proceeded in the Church of England, within the bounds of Catholic unity.

1. With the concurrence and encouragement all along of the supreme power to free it from any but suspicion of rebellion. So it began at first with the breaking of the Papal yoke of supremacy, the translation of the Bible, and some like preparatives to reformation under Henry the Eighth, and the united suffrages of his Parliaments, and the bishops themselves therein. It proceeded suitably to a further improvement in most particulars under his son Edward the Sixth. And at last it came to its full settlement and establishment under Queen Elizabeth. The beginning and carrying on of the Reformation here was, by such loyalty of principles and practices, that we challenge any Church in the world to a comparison therein. Indeed, this was so notorious, that her Roman adversaries have turned her glory into a reproach, by upbraiding her, though most invidiously, with the name of a Parliamentary religion; because it received all along so much countenance and assistance from those great assemblies of all the three estates of the kingdom under their head and sovereign.

2. But farther to clear her of all just imputation from hence, it must be added, that the whole work was carried on with the advice and mature deliberation of the clergy assembled in Convocation, representing the entire body of them, and therein a national Council. That they, from their education

and presumed knowledge, as well as from their office and ecclesiastical authority, are ordinarily fittest to judge, debate, and determine of religious matters, will be soon granted: but that the civil power may and ought sometimes to remind them of their duty, and restrain them from gross defections from it, may be proved by several Scripture examples in the Old Testament, and the supereminence of their place. But happy is that order and unity in which both powers are joined together for the service of God, the security of his Church, and promotion of his true religion, as it was here; though it could not be expected but the first attempts would meet with several difficulties, fierce debates and controversies, yet still the entire establishment was ratified by the regular determination of the clergy so assembled as before, as well as was after confirmed by the royal assent.

3. Yet farther to justify themselves from any affected innovation in such a change, all was done with the greatest reverence, respect, and deference to the ancient Church, to clear their continued unity therewith.

1. In doctrine. The ancient creeds were taken for the foundation of its confession, the four first General Councils are received with great veneration, and a particular* injunction was laid upon its ministers to press upon none the necessary belief of any doctrine, but what may be proved from Scripture, and the general current of the expositions of the Fathers thereupon. So careful it hath been in all points to keep within the bounds of Catholic principles, in those first instilled into its young disciples in the Catechism, and in those delivered in its articles to be subscribed by such to whom it intrusts any office, that the positive part of them will hardly be disowned by our very adversaries, and can scarce appear otherwise to any, than the common faith of all Christians of orthodox repute in all ages. And for other determinations in the negative, she only declares thereby how little concerned she is to receive or own the false or corrupt additions to the first unalterable rule. No Church hath professed and evidenced a more awful and tender regard to antiquity next to the express word

* In libro canonum in Synodo Londinensi, an. 1571. titulo concionatoribus. Imprimis videbunt nequid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri, et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici Patres, et veteres episcopi collegerint.

of God. Both which she oft appeals to, desires to be ruled by ; and where their footsteps are not sufficiently clear, chooses not to impose upon her own children, nor censure her neighbours; keeps within the most safe and modest boundaries; is not forward in determining nice and intricate disputes, which have perplexed and confounded many in their hasty and bold positions, particularly about the divine decrees, and such like sublime points, in which few understand where the main stress of the controversy lies : it may be, none can comprehend the depth of the matters upon which the decisions ought to be grounded. But alas ! how many have been forward to lay down, and fiercely contend for, on each side, their private opinions herein, as the first rudiments of theology, to be placed in their very creeds or catechisms, and so a foundation must be laid for endless contests and divisions ? But most cautious hath our Church been, in not laying such occasions to fall in the way of any : so that both sorts of adversaries have made their complaints against her for not being more positive, and particularly in such declarations, though none can charge her justly with defect in any point of faith so owned in the best ages of the Church.

2. As clear and unexceptionable hath been her proceeding in Church government, preserving that form, which from all testimonies of antiquity, hath continued in the Church from the very Apostles, under the conduct and happy influence of which Christianity hath been propagated, and continued throughout the world, whatever different measures some other Reformed Churches have taken, whether forced by necessity, or swayed by particular inclination, or prejudice. The Church of England kept up the universally received distinct prime orders of bishops, priests, and deacons ; not desiring to censure others, who can best answer for themselves, but endeavouring to confine herself to what was most canonical and regular, and to shew how little affected she was to alteration from any establishment, except in notorious corruptions and abuses ; and how necessary she thought due order and subordination in the Church to prevent schism and heresies, and to give the greater authority and advantage to her ministrations ; and finally, to free herself from all suspicion of irregularity in her succession, derived from Christ and his Apostles, which she, as much as any Church in the world, may pretend unto. And though some intermediate ages have been blemished with much dege-

neracy, yet she was concerned only to separate this, but retain and convey down to others whatsoever good and wholesome provisions she received from those before.

Farther to evince this, particular care was taken by express law* to confirm the rules of government, or canon law before received into the Church, till some better provision could be made so far as it contradicts not the law of the land, or the word of God, making as few changes in the outward face of the Church as was possible, and sensibly proving it her design properly not to destroy, but build ; nor yet therein to erect a new, but reform an old Church.

3. Alike canonical and orderly hath been her constitution in matters of worship. Her forms of prayer and praise, with the whole order of her Liturgy, are composed with the greatest temper, and expressed in the most plain and comprehensive terms to help forward uniform devotion, pious affection, the most orthodox profession, and Catholic communion. So that I think it may be universally affirmed, that there is not any thing required in her public service necessary to those who communicate with her, which any that own the name of Christians, or are owned for such by the general body of them, can almost scruple, unless because it is a form, by one sort, and because it is ours by another sort. But how unreasonable herein are both ? So careful she hath been to lay the ground of most Catholic unity, and to remove whatever might obstruct it.

This our adversaries, the Romanists, confirmed by their own practice, when for several years, as we have been told,† in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, they frequented our Churches, joined in our prayers and praises, attended on our sermons and other instructions, and received (as some add) our sacraments, according to the order, for substance the same as now, and had, it is like, done so still, having nothing to object against them, but from the after prohibition of the Pope, who had reason to fear they who were so well provided of all needful supply and defence at home, might thus, by degrees, be withdrawn from subjection to his authority abroad; that darling point never to be dispensed or parted with, whatever else might have been yielded.‡

* See the statute 15 of Henry the Eighth, cap. 19. sect. 7. expressly revived 1 Eliz. c. 1. sect. 6.

† Camdeni, Eliz. an. 1570.

‡ Camdeni, Eliz. an. 1560.

Our Reformers who composed our Liturgy, carefully collected the remainders of true primitive devotion then in use, and separated from them all those corrupt additions which ignorance, superstition, and crafty policy had mixed therewith. Therefore it is so from being an objection, that any part of our Liturgy was translated from the Roman offices, that while nothing is retained contrary to wholesome doctrine and sound piety, it is a convincing argument of her impartial sincerity, and desire to preserve uniformity as much as possible with all Christians abroad, as well as at home in her own members ; securing all the substantials of worship, according to the plain sense of Scripture, and the pattern of the primitive Church.

And as to circumstantial and ceremonies, she is sensible, when they are too numerous, how apt they are to darken the inward and more essential lustre of religion, and prove a burden instead of a relief to its worship, which she takes notice* St. Augustin complained of in his time : but have since so increased in the eastern as well as western Churches, that it must argue a great awe to make the service look like anything serious and sacred. However, this number alone, where the particulars are not otherwise obnoxious, tempts some to spend all their zeal therein, and diverts them from things more necessary, or gives too much occasion to others to quarrel about them. Yet, withal, being apprehensive how needful it would be to maintain order and decency, she hath kept some, though very few, and those most plain and unexceptionable in their nature, most significative of the end for which they were appointed, and most ancient and universal in their institution and practice, hinted in the title of our Liturgy, as it is changed from the former. And to prevent all differences hereabout, she hath expressed her sense of them so clearly and explicitly, that one would think no peevish obstinacy had room to interpose a scruple, however the event hath proved.

Thus abundantly hath the Church of England vindicated her Reformation from all pretence of apostasy from the true, ancient, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and shewed in all instances how careful she hath been to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace with all the members thereof.

* Preface to the Common Prayer, concerning ceremonies, why some are abolished.

Nor hath she been wanting in any respect or reverence due thereunto : no Church being more cautious and sparing in its determinations, more canonical in its impositions, more regular in its succession, and more charitable in its censures ; making all necessary provision for her own children, so within the bounds of Catholic unity, that had other Churches observed the like methods or measures, way had been made for an universal consent ;* and every true Christian, wherever he came, would have found his own Church wherewith to communicate, without hesitancy, in all religious offices. And as‡ St. Augustin observed in his time, he would have needed but to enquire for the Catholic Church, and no schismatic would have dared to divert him to their conventicles.

But if, after the confusions and disorders of so many centuries, amidst such a depraved state by corrupt manners, diversities of opinion, and perplexed interests, so great a happiness be not to be hoped for now ; that private person, or particular Church, will clear themselves before God and all good men, that do what is in their power towards it, and pray to Him to amend what they cannot change ; and, in the mean time, make the best use of what means they enjoy.

Upon which premises, an easy solution is given to the old cavilling question, where was your Church before the Reformation, or that time ?

We answer, just where it is : thereby no new Church was set up, no new articles of faith brought in, no new sacraments, no new order of priesthood to minister in holy things ; all which would have indeed required new miracles, and a new immediate authority from heaven so attested ; only the old were purged from impurities in doctrine, worship and practice, which, in passing through so many degenerate ages, they had contracted, and that an ordinary power might suffice to do. If we were in the Catholic Church before, we are so still, and hope to better purpose. We are not therefore out of it, because their rash censures have excluded us, and then they unreasonably take advantage to argue against us from their own act : we never formally shut them out, whatever they have done to us.

What degrees of corruption in faith or manners may be

* Τοῦτοι γὰρ ἦν ποτε τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ καύχημα, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα μικροῖς συμβολοῖς ἐφοδιαζόμενοι ὁτὲ ἐξ ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας ἀδελφοὶ πάντας πατέρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς εὑρισκον.

St. Basil. Ep. 198. t. 3. p. 409. [Paris, 1839. vol. iii. Ep. 191. col. 412. E.]

† St. August. adv. Epist. Manich. t. 6. p. 118. A.

consistent with the bare being of a Church, or the possibility of salvation therein, is needless and dangerous for us nicely to enquire; it may be impossible for us to know. I am sure it is most safe for us to reform what we know to be amiss, and to leave those who do not, to stand or fall by their own master. It is a very ill requital of our charity if it be turned into a weapon of offence to wound or slay us, by that by which we shewed our desire of their cure. But they and we must stand another trial, and await a final infallible sentence, which ours here cannot change. The best security that we know to meet it with comfort, will be to use the most strict impartiality with ourselves, and the greatest charity to others.

Yet our adversaries glory in nothing more than in the name of the Catholic Church, and boast in no title so much, as that of Catholics, which hath had deservedly so great veneration in all antiquity.

But their claim here truly examined will prove as fallacious and arrogant as in any other instance. For the term Catholic, if we respect the notation of the word, or the most constant use of it, is the same as Universal, and so joined to the Church, signifies the general body of all Christians dispersed throughout the world, opposed to any distinct party, or separate communion.

Thus we find it constantly applied by St. Augustin,* in all his tracts against the Donatists, and so opposed to them who went about to shut it up within their own party, and straitened communion; therein too closely imitated by our adversaries,

* St. August. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, c. 2. t. 7. p. 510. [Paris, 1837. contr. Donat. vol. ix. c. 2. col. 538.] Quæstio certe inter nos versatur, ubi sit ecclesia, utrum apud nos, an apud illos, quæ utique una est, quam majores nostri Catholicam nominarunt, ut ex eo ipso nomine ostenderent, quia per totum est. Ibid. c. 3. p. 514. [Paris, 1837. vol. ix. c. 4. col. 543.] Christi ecclesia canonicarum scripturarum divinis et certissimis testimoniis in omnibus gentibus designata est. Et c. 4. [Paris, 1837. vol. ix. c. 4. col. 544.] ab ejus corpore, quod est ecclesia, ita dissentient, ut eorum communio non sit cum toto, quacunque diffunditur, sed in aliqua parte separata inveniatur, manifestum est eos non esse in ecclesia catholica. Et c. 12. [Paris, 1837. vol. ix. c. 12. col. 569.] p. 533. aliud evangelizat qui periisse dicit de cætero mundo ecclesiam, et in parte Donati, in sola Africa remansisse. Idem de fide et symbolo, in eam partem de ecclesia catholica, t. 3. p. 149. Hæretici de Deo falsa sentiendo ipsam fidem violant, schismatici autem discussionibus inquis a fraterna caritate dissiliunt: quapropter nec hæreticus pertinet ad ecclesiam catholicam, quæ diligit Deum, nec schismaticus, quoniam diligit proximum.

who, in spite of name or thing, make the same enclosures about the Catholic as about the Roman Church, and are as free in the severest censures of all others, and as haughty in what they assume to themselves alone, as they were, though not proceeding upon the same grounds. But what that holy father everywhere presseth upon them, reacheth as nearly our antagonists ; the indispensable necessity of charity, that great bond of unity in the Church, and principal evidence of the Divine Spirit which animates the whole, without which the highest gifts and most sacred ministrations are rendered ineffectual. This is one of the prime characteristic notes of the true Catholic Church, and every living member thereof ; and nothing is more opposite to their principles and practices, who have formally excluded all other Christians and Churches from any share therein, not only those in the west that have deservedly cast off that power, which they had unjustly arrogated, and tyrannically exercised, but also the Greeks and others in the east, that never owned any subjection to them.

But most securely may the Church of England glory in true Catholicism, which to all her other privileges and advantages that she may boast of above almost any other Church, still maintains and evidences the greatest charity to others of any that I know in the world ; makes no other enclosures than those which God himself hath made, not assuming any authority to command, yea, or to pass hasty judgment upon any, but only to provide for her own the best she can, and with such tender regard to common Christianity, and the rights of all other Churches, that she seems designedly to have chalked out the way of restoring the most desirable fruits of Christian unity throughout the whole Church ; and we should have been sensible of considerable effects by it, had other Churches pursued like methods.

That Church, sure, is most Catholic that makes provision for the most Catholic communion, peace and unity, and which imposes no other terms or conditions of it, but those most universally received throughout all ages, in all places, and by almost all Christians ; which may soon decide the competition, whether the Church of England more truly vindicates to herself a part of the Catholic Church, or they of Rome arrogate to themselves the whole ? Or, which are the schismatics from it, they which exclude none, whom they own no power over, but invite all to them, and join with any in what is good and agreeable to the institutions of our common Lord ; or they

who shut out all but those who will subject themselves to their usurped authority, and most unjustifiable impositions.*

Farther, the term Catholic is sometimes taken for Orthodox, and so the Catholic Church interpreted for that which holds the Catholic faith, opposed to heretical opinions and doctrines, as well as to schismatical separations.† In this sense the Church of England hath as good a claim to the Catholic Church as any whatever; receiving all the articles of Christian faith delivered in Scripture, and received in the primitive ages for more than five hundred years. No principles having been so formally declared then, and for some time after, as the Catholic faith of all Christians, and as such necessary to be owned, which she rejects; whatever private opinions there might be then among some eminent doctors of the Church, in which they oft differed one from the other, or although there might be some observances then generally received, which she thinks herself not bound to retain.

But ill will this character agree to the Romanists, who have added so many new dangerous articles to the common faith of Christians, not only beside the original rule, which they cannot but own with us, but too often against it, and the professed belief of the first and best ages of the Church. Wherefore we reject not these innovations merely from negative arguments, because not sufficiently proved; (and yet that way of arguing hath been always allowed in the fundamentals of faith, which must be grounded upon express divine authority and testimony.) But we lay the greatest stress of our aver-sations to them upon that direct opposition, which we undertake to prove most of them have to the common faith, and revealed will of God, which they and we both own. And surely that Church, in this acceptation, is most Catholic, that relies on such Catholic principles, and refers all others to be examined by this touchstone.

V. But in the fifth place, some objections lie in our way fit to be answered.

* Firmillianus de Stephano Episcopo Rom. ad Cyprianum, Ep. 75. p. 228. Ox. Ed. [Paris, 1726. p. 150.] Siquidem ille est vere schismaticus, qui se a Communione Ecclesiastice unitatis Apostamat fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus, abstinuisti.

† St. Cyril. Hieros. Cat. 18. p. 220. [Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1640.] Καθολικὴ μὲν οὖν καλεῖται, διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάσης εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς, ἔως περάτων, καὶ διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλειπός ἄπαντα τὰ εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν ὀφείλοντα δύγματα, [περι ὄρατῶν καὶ ἀօράτων πραγμάτων.] Sozomen. Hist. 1. 7. c. 4.

Object. 1. They urge against us, that we reject several doctrines since formally determined in the Church by the known and received authority thereof, in Councils more general or particular, which they pretend were believed through all ages, but then established when they came first to be called in question.

Answ. We are not much concerned in the first part of the objection, though very many exceptions might come in, especially as to the formality and regularity of those Councils : but as to the latter part, in which the main stress lies here, we never refused a fair trial thereof.

1. From Scripture, against which no authority, civil or ecclesiastical, in single persons, or the greatest assemblies, no time or custom, of whatever date, can prescribe.* This hath been ever received till of late, as the perfect and entire rule of all necessary doctrines of faith and practice ; of which abundant testimonies may be seen in most Protestant writers.

2. We appeal also to the primitive and best ages of Christianity, which either knew nothing of these additions that we can find, or sometimes give as express declarations against them, as could be expected at this distance. But to take off much of the strangeness of so harsh an imputation at first sight, wherewith we charge a great part of the Church for a considerable time, and that they and we may be less scandalised at the first mention of these defections.

3. We may consider the various cautions in the New Testament against corrupt doctrines and manners, which, at the least, in general are foretold would creep into the Church, if some of them we now charge be not particularly described therein.

4. We may compare matter of fact with the experience of the like degeneracy of the Jewish Church, in various instances, so nearly resembling these, as nothing more, and from the

* Tertullian de velandis virginibus, c. 1. p. 172. hoc exigere veritatem, cui nemo præscribere potest, non spatium temporum, non patrocinium personarum, non privilegium regionum.

St. Cyprian, Ep. 63. p. 155. [Paris, 1726, p. 108.] Quare si solus Christus audiendus est, non debemus attendere, quid alius ante nos faciendum [esse] putaverit, sed quid qui ante omnes est Christus prior fecit. Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet; sed Dei veritatem.

S. Basil de judicio Dei, t. 2. p. 392. [Paris, 1839, Vol. 2. p. 298—311.] et ejus moral. t. 2. p. 423. [Ibid. p. 327.]

S. Hieron. adv. Joh. Hieros. t. 2. p. 185. et in eodem T. ex. ep. Aug. ad Hieron. p. 353, 359, etc.

same plea of oral tradition, yet against as clear evidence, and as emphatical promises to preserve them from apostasy, as any particular Church at least can now pretend to.

5. We may consult the tendency of lapsed mankind. In the best, how weak it is, and apt to be imposed on : in others, how prone to corrupt and distort the best institutions, cast a mist before the clearest discoveries, and offer violence unto the strongest convictions to shelter their vices, and promote their unwarrantable interests, especially in times of ease, plenty, and outward prosperity ; in which we may compare common experience in lesser societies, which however wisely directed at first, regularly founded, and strongly guarded on all sides, without a very careful inspection, and sometimes vigorous opposition, so many corruptions will creep in, as to need frequent reformations to reduce them back to their primitive constitution. And although an especial providence be concerned for the guard and conduct of God's Church, yet neither Scripture or experience warrant us to expect its happy influence by miracles now, for the effecting of that which be accomplished by the use of ordinary and regular means of his own appointment.

6. We may reflect upon the particular ages of the Church, which we charge especially with these defections from about the eighth century to the Reformation ; wherein, if all or most of them did not come in, yet they grew to that extravagant height, as to gain establishment for principles of Christianity. These ages are charged by their own authors as well as ours, and stand most sensibly convict of the grossest barbarism, stupidity, ignorance, depraved manners, and all such corrupt inclinations in all orders and degrees, especially the ruling part, as were most likely to make way for such changes and innovations.

7. We have some farther sensible proof of a design in many within that time, to impose upon the credulity of others, and bring in strange doctrines and unwarrantable practices, by the many fabulous stories, feigned apparitions and revelations, several of which they themselves will hardly now defend, then brought into the Church to confirm these points in difference, and which almost only the people then received for their instructions, to entice them first into an awful opinion of, and then a confident reliance upon these things.

Nay, farther, among the many spurious writings which then crept into the world under the most venerable names of the

renowned Fathers of the Church, now mostly discarded by themselves, when their shameless impudence hath been so fully exposed, yet few of them there are, in which this contrivance is not legible throughout to advance these opinions and practices. So that we are indebted to the Reformation, those great men which laboured in it, and some of the most moderate and learned of their own side, with the art of printing then but newly found out, that almost all ancient authors and records have not lost their authority, which would have been much endangered among such gross depravers of antiquity, whose constant business it was to mar good authors by their interpolations, additions or subtractions; or vent new ones under counterfeit old names, to serve their corrupt ends. But we are somewhat beholden to their ignorance and stupidity, for doing it so grossly, that there was need of little skill or observation to discover their impostures.

8. To which may be added, in the last place, against the supposed presumption in private persons, or particular Churches, to judge of public establishments by a seeming superior authority; that without some judgment of discretion in the former, there is no room for a proper moral act, much less are they capable of a truly religious obligation, which an absolute implicit faith perfectly destroys. But whilst every man is bound to prove his own work, and must bear his own burden, he must examine the grounds of his assent according to his capacity, and determine himself by the best motives he can procure, and is concerned at his utmost peril to do it with all due respect to the authority and judgment of his superiors, as well as the evidence of the things themselves, which are nowhere in any government beside thought inconsistent.

These considerations, duly weighed, may obviate those first prejudices, which usually lie in the way to intercept all thoughts of farther trial and examination of particular points in controversy, and may silence or shame the late idle vaunts of such who pretend to reason us out of our senses, and undertake to demonstrate it, *a priori*, impossible that ever any false opinion should get into the Church, or prevail therein. I wish these men would try their pains and subtlety, to prove it impossible there could be any such thing as wilful sin in the world. I presume they might have as good topics to pretend to it from all convictions of reason or interest. But after the most artificial compositions herein, they would hardly believe themselves, or be credited by others against their experience. It were

well if they might prevail to make that less frequent, which all must own so unreasonable in itself, and destructive to us.

Object. 2. But our adversaries will yet urge upon us, that supposing, not granting such a degeneracy in the Church, and need of reformation ; yet this should have been done, in order to preserve Catholic unity, by common consent in a general Council, and with most mature deliberation and consultation.

Answ. 1. This was most earnestly desired and insisted on by the first reformers, witness the great importunities of Charles the Fifth, with the Pope, upon their instance.

2. When this seemingly prevailed, and a pretended Council was called, it was far from being free or general. The Italian, and mere titular bishops outnumbered all the rest, and both one and the other were overawed by the Pope's immediate dependents or delegates, and all things carried by such stratagems of policy or partiality of interest, that the only care taken was to fix the disease, and not provide for the cure, by the best account we have of those transactions ; so that some princes of their own communion entered their protestations against its proceedings, disowning any obligation to be tied up to their determinations.

3. As the divided state of Christendom now stands, it is rather to be wished for, than supposed almost possible,

From the different interest and inclinations of princes, who will hardly agree together in the summons, place, or time of meeting, or about the persons who are to resort to it from their several dominions. While the Roman empire was entire, the Emperor's edict alone was summons sufficient to almost the whole Christian Church. But now who shall take upon him to call or invite so many from so distant places, no way under his authority ? And that the Pope ever pretended to this power till of late, can scarce be pleaded against such clear evidences and examples ; and where he is so much concerned, it will be judged more unreasonable for him to demand it. If this difficulty were overcome by any consent or condescension ; yet so many jealousies and cross interests are behind, that will be and have been laid in the way of their first meeting, together with a requisite peaceable disposition, as are not easily foreseen, and less readily governed ; not to interpose the difficulties of the journeys from such distant places, and of the discontinuance so long from home of the chief governors of the Church ; many doubts and controversies of the number and quality of persons having right to vote therein by themselves or representatives, will

not soon be adjusted ; and without these and such-like determined, there is no preparation made for so venerable an assembly.

After all, when never so duly met, we have neither* reason, promise or example, to suppose them now infallibly guided in their determinations, but that they, or the greater part, may be mistaken themselves, or mislead others, through passion and false interest, or be carried away in the noise or torrent of a multitude, or be imposed on by the crafty. He that considers matter of fact more than the finest schemes and most subtle reasonings of his own brain, how things are oft strangely and unaccountably carried in public meetings of men of extraordinary fame ; yea, in some Councils themselves, and some of sacred repute in the Church† will think this no hard supposal, though their orderly sentence carries the most venerable authority below heaven. It seems to argue the height of blasphemy to arraign God himself of indiscretion, if it be possible for any man or number of men to err from their duty : and very presumptuous it is to charge the Supreme Providence of defect in the provision for the continuance of his Church, if they be capable to fall away ; yea, let God be true, but every man a liar, when brought in competition. He will not be tied up by our most plausible methods in the way of securing his own truth, which shall at last prevail, though condemned ; whose wisdom is unsearchable, and his ways oft past our finding out. He will bring to pass his own holy designs, though by means to us most unlikely, or it may be seemingly opposite.

Whoever seriously reflects upon these things, will have little reason to quarrel at the Reformation for want of this formal establishment in Council.

No Christian or Church is chargeable with the lack of that, which it is not in their power to procure. Men may please themselves with remote speculations, and the fairest hopes and wishes of such an authoritative decision of the disputes in controversy ; but if it be not to be had, we must rest content with, and make the best use we can of that provision which God in mercy hath indulged us for our sufficient satisfaction and safety.

Every particular National Church, directly subject to no

* Ecclesia non numerus episcoporum. Tertullian. depudicitia, c. 22. [Paris, 1695. c. xxi. p. 574.]

† Greg. Naz. Epist. 55. p. 814. [Paris, 1630.] et Ep. 72. p. 829. et Ep. 135. p. 864. ejusd. Orat. 25. init. p. 451. Theod. Ep. 112. vol. 3. p. 982, 983.

other, may and ought to reform itself from known abuses ; keeping within the rule of God's word, avoiding as much as possible giving just offence to any beside, and being ready to give an account of its proceedings therein to all, and to alter anything that shall be found amiss, or add whatever may be proved wanting, to receive others into its communion, and to communicate with them so far as may be consistent with common Christianity owned by all, endeavouring to preserve peace and unity with all that call upon the same Lord, praying to God to increase and improve them more and more ; such hath been the continued aim and proceeding of the Church of England.

We believe no true member of this would have refused the general communion of the truly Catholic Church in St. Augustine's age, or for some time after, though possibly every opinion or practice then current be not suited to their present judgment or wish. Neither can we think, after so strange alteration of circumstances through so many degenerate ages, that holy Father, in his eminent zeal for the most* Catholic communion therein, would now have been much moved by our present adversaries' arrogant claims of it to themselves alone, though against the rules and principles of it with all others. No foundation is laid for it here, but by the absolute submission of all others to their usurped authority, and rash or impious determinations. Now who can hope for an universal peace and unity from such terms of accommodation, only fit for an insulting conqueror to oppose, like those which Nahash the Ammonite propounded to the men of Jabesh Gilead, to thrust out all their right eyes, and lay it for a reproach upon all Israel. 1 Sam. xi. 2.

Object. 3. Sometimes they object to us the personal miscarriages of some engaged in the Reformation.

Answ. If any did what they ought not, or with unjustifiable designs what they ought, the Church is no way accountable ; if what they did in the Reformation, as such, were good, and they had sufficient authority for doing it, which we are ready to maintain, that is all she is responsible for, were other imputations really true, which they oft are not. However, it will be an endless dispute, and if determined, would add little to the

* S. Aug. adv. Crescon. Grammat. l. 3. t. 7. p. 263. [Paris, 1837, vol. ix. col. 703. D.] Ego in Ecclesia sum, cujus membra sunt illæ omnes ecclesiæ, quas ex laboribus Apostolorum natas, atque firmatas simul in literis Canonicis novimus. Earum communionem, sive in Africa, sive ubicunque, non deseram.

cause. I may add, few great and public changes are brought about, where so many interests are concerned, either way to promote or hinder them, in which all things are carried with that clearness and evenness that were to be desired. Private persons are not chargeable with the supposed defects of the public administrations, of which they have not the management, if nothing be required of them against their express duty, and they be provided of all necessary means of their salvation, though they may be inclined to wish some things had been ordered otherwise.

Object. 4. Our enemies on both sides are apt to object to us the want of due discipline, if not absolutely necessary to the being of a Church, yet so far useful to the well being and perfection of it, that it ought to have great weight in determining our choice to one communion before another, and is one of the sensible bands of unity in the Church.

Answ. 1. The restoration of the primitive vigour of this, hath been always wished for by our Church, as in the preface to the communion, but the accomplishment is very difficult,

From the degeneracy of this age, which would hardly bear it. He that governs in a less sphere, will find how oft he must bear with things which he doth not approve ; and much easier it is to find fault with, than to amend, what sometimes we know to be amiss.

From the multiplicity of divisions, which weaken all endeavours towards it, and then foward men unworthily charge the Church with what they themselves make almost unavoidable ; whereas, if executed, it would reach themselves as nearly as any who are now so clamorous against the most tender and charitable endeavours towards it, as cruel and inhuman.

2. The pretences to it in the Church of Rome, according to general practice, so far as it can appear to us, and we can judge by nothing else, are more dangerous than any of these omissions, when turned into a constant circle of sinning, private confession, and priestly absolution, upon the imposition of insignificant penance, and so over again. For hereby men have the authority of their Church, to confirm in them the dangerous presumption that they have thus readily cleared themselves before God, and so soon perfected their repentance for such sins, which we find them not so watchful against afterward, as that ought to suppose or make them.

Whereas the Church of England commends private confession, for our clearer satisfaction and direction in difficult cases,

as most needful, but cannot truly say that it is an indispensable condition of our pardon, which was never so believed or practised in the Church for many centuries. If people will not be persuaded to their privilege, unless they be forced to it by false denunciations, they must look to that ; if they miscarry, it lies at their own door, while they have no hopes here given them of pardon, but upon such entire repentance as destroys the habit of sin, and plants the contrary grace ; and what need they may have of the assistance of a spiritual guide, and other helps in many cases, in order to this effect, they may best consider.

3. However the due administration of discipline is to be placed among conveniences and advantages to be wished for, rather than necessities we cannot be without ; and it hath been, and it will be in all ages of the Church, more or less perfect, according to a great many contingencies not to be stated before-hand. The Church hath ever judged it the best measure of using it so, as may serve the ends of religion and the general benefit of the community, and not that she is bound always up to the strict merit of the persons falling under it ; and yet, after all the strictest care and impartiality, there will be room for the final separation, when our Lord shall send his angels to gather out of his own kingdom all offences, and them which do iniquity. If we will shun all communication with these, though only in what is good, we must flee out of any Church that ever yet was or will be, so far as we know, in this world, and so from any hopes in that to come ; yet scarce any considerable schism hath appeared in the Church, which did not shelter itself under this pretence.

4. Farther it may be alleged, that several restraints may be upon the Church from the civil power. When this had suffered so much by former encroachments and usurpations, no wonder if it still retain some jealousy of that yoke, which with so much difficulty it cast off, and provide as securely as it can for its future preservation, though by suspending some of that outward assistance very conducive to the due effect of Church censures, and sometimes by putting a stop to their sensible progress, in some cases where no such danger or necessity required it. Men, by mistakes or prejudice, may strain each power too far. Better experience of the regular management of the ecclesiastical, may in due time encourage the secular farther to enlarge their liberty, and encourage their orderly proceedings, so as may be most subservient to the ends of true religion, and the advancement of the common security of Church and State.

All the power which the Church pretends to as such is spiritual, and that can make no alteration in the civil rights of men.

5. Yet after all, the Church amongst us hath not only sufficient authority committed to her by Christ, but reserved and countenanced by the laws of the land to testify her abhorrence of all notorious scandals, to the shame and confusion of gross offenders, and as a direful earnest of a worse doom that awaits them hereafter, if not here prevented by a satisfactory repentance. I need not refer to particular instances, when we have frequent examples thereof. If this be not always exercised by those with whom it is entrusted, with all due vigour and sincerity, after just abatement for necessity, and a favourable allowance for such perplexed difficulties, of which scarce any private person can make a fair and competent judgment, the fault will lie only at their doors whose is the neglect, and private Christians shall not fare the worse in the performance of their duty, nor fail of the salutary effects of the ordinary means of grace by God's own appointment, because every public ministrion is not performed with that religious care which becomes such concerns.

6. Little pretence can they have from this objection, that desert the Established National Church, and that most advantageous outward bond of unity therein, in pursuit of private assemblies and select congregations, where all acts of discipline must needs be supposed arbitrary on one side, and precarious on the other. When he or they, who inflict them, own no power over them to awe, or direct their proceedings, or upon just occasion to reverse their sentence, nor he who falls under them has any other engagement to submission, than his own free act, nor can suffer any farther prejudice without it, than to be forced, it may be, to change his company or place of meeting. Whatever grave and solemn appearance this may carry at the first setting up of such a new government, it will soon degenerate into mockery or confusion. Whatsoever destroys the unity of the Church, overturns the main strength and foundation of all discipline; the defects hereof we may hope to see repaired with the preservation of that; but without that no prospect appears of any overtures towards it.

7. To which may be added, in the last place, whatever want of discipline any may lay to the charge of the Church of England, none can complain of her breach of that unity therein, which all Christian Churches ought to maintain. She

neither invades the rights, nor pretends to reverse the just and regular censures, nor countenances the schismatics, nor disallows the ministrations of any other Church, so far as is consistent with the express institutions of our blessed Saviour, and the universally received practice of his Church, though otherwise mixed with several corruptions which she wishes removed.

Object. 5. Lastly, our Roman adversaries object to us, the many obstinate schisms and gross heresies, which have sprung up since the Reformation, and, as they pretend, out of it, from the forsaking of that bond of unity in the Catholic Church, only to be hoped for in their communion, where alone they say these are prevented, or soon cured.

Answ. The first part of matter of fact is too notorious to be denied, and too scandalous to be defended; but against the latter part of the original of these schisms and heresies, many just exceptions may be interposed.

1. The Reformation gives no countenance to them, but severely condemns them, and provides sufficient means to prevent or remove them, if notwithstanding wicked men of corrupt principles and depraved manners flee hither for shelter to hide their enormities, and abuse or pervert the most wholesome institutions and advantageous opportunities for their spiritual proficiency to the contrary purposes, the guilt and ill consequence will lie only at their own doors. Christians must not be debarred of the ordinary means of grace, because some turn this grace into wantonness. St. Peter tells us of some who wrest the Scriptures unto their own destruction; but neither he nor any other then, or for many ages after, thought this motive sufficient to deprive the people of the use of them, but made it rather an argument of consulting them with greater caution and diligence, lest being led away with the error of the wicked, they fall from their own stedfastness.

2. There were many schisms and heresies sprung up in the first and best ages of the Church, even in the times of the Apostles themselves, as appears by several intimations in their writings, and in the immediately succeeding, while many apostolical men were living; and if we compare the account we have of them in the most ancient authors, particularly in Irenæus, they were as wild and extravagant as any of the latter date; yet the apologists for true Christianity thought themselves injuriously charged with those blasphemous prin-

ciples or flagitious practices, which they wholly renounced or disowned. The evil one is always most busy to sow his tares amongst the best wheat. But that which is most to our purpose here to observe is, that the same method which the orthodox Christians then made use of for the confutation and conviction of heretics and schismatics, we still appeal to, by bringing them to the touchstone of Scripture, and next to that the most orthodox and Catholic tradition. Whereas how short and easy a decision to all debates might have been fetched hence, had they had the same apprehension of the authority and efficacy thereof by referring all controversies depending to the determination of the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all, and to that infallible conduct settled therein ; but not one word of that, only when they make their appeals to her after the express word of God, it is in common with many other Churches, especially those of apostolical foundation, as in Tertullian, Irenæus, St. Augustin, &c. where they have to deal with such persons.*

* Tertullian. adv. Marcion. l. 2. c. 5. p. 415. [Paris, 1695, lib. IV. c. 5. p. 415.] Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint ; ad quam regulam Galatæ sunt recorrecti ; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii ; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus Evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt ; habemus et Johannis alumnas Ecclesias.

Idem de præscript. adv. Hær. c. 36. 215. [Paris, 1695.] Percurre Ecclesiæ Apostolicas, [apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur et repræsentantes faciem uniuscunque] et proxima est tibi Achaia ; habes Corinthum. Si non longe est a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses ; si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiae adjaces, habes Romanam. Et ibid. c. 32. p. 213. [Paris, 1695.] de aliis. [ad hanc itaque formam probabuntur ab illis Ecclesiis quæ licet nullum ex apostolis vel Apostolicis auctorem suum proferant ut multo posteriores.] Quæ denique [quotidie] instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes non minus Apostolicæ deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinæ.

St. Irenæus adv. Hær. l. 3. c. 3. p. 232.

St. Augustin de Unitate Ecclesiæ, c. 10. t. 7. [Paris, 1837. contr. Donatistas, vol. ix. col. 567.] p. 531. ad Corinthios, ad Ephesios, [ad Philippenses] ad Thessalonicenses, ad Colossenses, Vos solas Apostoli Epistolas in lectione, nos autem Epistolas in lectione, ac fide et ipsas Ecclesiæ in communione retinemus. Ibid. c. 16. p. 546. [Paris, 1837, contra, D. Donatistas Epistola, vol. ix. col. 587, D.] Utrum ipsi Ecclesiam teneant, non nisi Divinarum Scripturarum Canonis libris ostendant : quia nec eos propterea dicimus nobis credere oportere quod in Ecclesia Christi sumus, quia ipsam quam tenemus commendavit Milevitanus Optatus, vel Mediolanensis Ambrosius, vel alii innumerabiles nostræ Communionis Episcopi, aut quia nostrorum Collegarum Conciliis ipsa prædicata est ; aut quia per totum orbem in locis sanctis tanta mirabilia vel exauditionum

3. The pretence of the most absolute authority in the one part, and the extortion of the most implicit belief and blind obedience in the other among them, have not been able to secure themselves from considerable dissensions and divisions in opinion and practice. If these have not broke out ordinarily into the most open schisms and heresies, the stop is more due to the craft and policy whereby they oft compromise the matter between both parties, or to that outward force and violence which restrains them, rather than to any opinion which they themselves have of this ready means of ending all disputes. We find in the fiercest debates among them, how little heed is given to this infallible cure, farther than interest or necessity inclines them. There may be a way of preventing controversies, which destroys all religion, and makes way for atheism ; in such a case, I need not enquire where the advantage lies.

4. We may answer, most of those mischiefs had their rise from the ruins of the Church of England, when that was violently assaulted and broken, its authority despised, its constitutions vilified, its order defaced, its faithful adherents persecuted ; then faction and disorder, strange doctrines, phrenetical opinions, and all manner of looseness in principles and practices, came in like a torrent, and overspread the land, which before skulked in corners, and were little taken notice of. The restitution of the Church hath in great measure put a stop to their progress. I know not of any sect, which hath started up since that time. But almost every year before brought forth several. If her pains and care have not yet been so successfully prevalent, as to recover and restore all that have gone astray, she hath not been wanting in her endeavours towards it, which have reduced many, and it is no little time nor easy task to repair the ruins of such long confusions and desolations.

5. We owe a greater part of these calamities to the same persons, who now charge them upon us, for beside the influence which their agents, principles, and examples had in contriving and promoting those unnatural commotions and rebellions in the state, which I am not now concerned to examine ; let matter of fact determine that, as it hath been found more or less plain. Thus far we have abundant evidence, that several of

vel sanctitatum fiunt, etc. Quæcunque talia in Catholica fiunt, ideo sunt approbanda quia in Catholica fiunt, non ideo ipsa manifestatur Catholica quia hæc in ea fiunt.

their emissaries have herded with the chief of our dissenters ; and if some of the grossest sects were not framed among them first, as seems very probable, yet most of them have been much fomented and strengthened by them, and they have been oft found acting their parts under that disguise, and have employed on all occasions their interest to shelter and protect them, according to the known maxim of their policy, that the readiest way of effecting our ruin, was by increasing and fomenting our divisions ; here they have found their greatest harvest. For when men's minds are unsettled, and they grown giddy with being long turned about by every new wind of doctrine, and are weary of tumbling and tossing from one party to another, they will easily catch hold of any fancied support, and be sooner betrayed to yield themselves captives to the delusory hopes of rest and settlement amongst them.

6. To all which may be added, that much of that irreverence and contempt of persons, and things sacred, which have made way for the forementioned sad calamities amongst us, are mostly due to their oppressions, insolencies, or delusions. When the people had so long groaned under their tyrannical yoke and intolerable burdens, and found themselves so oft cheated by their manifest impostures, no marvel if they be over fearful of what they had suffered so much from, and afterwards too suspicious of being deluded again, and be soon tempted to transgress due measure in the use of their liberty, being just recovered from extreme slavery ; though so many years have passed since, as will hardly admit of a tolerable excuse. Yet better experience and longer consideration, we hope in time, may teach them to distinguish between the certain interests of true religion, and the hypocritical wiles of worldly craft and policy, and so to think a due respect and obsequiousness to those who sincerely manage the former, necessary to preserve them from being imposed on by the latter, and prevent their falling into the like miscarriages which they observe in others. And that apostolical government, good order, wholesome discipline, sound doctrine, and uniform devotion, may no longer suffer under the false but most odious charge of Popery ; and that they who have, under God, been most instrumental in reforming and defending the Church from the real and gross corruptions thereof, may not still be oppressed with the unreasonable clamour of a mere invidious name, which they that use most know very little what they mean by it, only that it denotes somewhat favoured by them, of whom they have deservedly an ill opinion. The case hath

been too like exemplified in another instance, especially of late years, in which many hypocrites have so scandalously abused the most solemn pretences to sanctity and devotion for a covering or countenance to the most horrid oppressions, schisms, and rebellions, that they have emboldened profane men to scorn, and send out open defiances against the very appearance of religion, and possibly tempted others, serious and hearty lovers of its cause, to be too modest and shame-faced in its defence ; yet we hope unfeigned piety will be always justified of its children. Suitably truly Catholic principles and observances may vindicate themselves, though gross errors and impostures have long passed under that disguise. Notwithstanding ordinary people, not always the best distinguishers, and who are often hurried from one extreme to another, do not readily discern one from the other, but having found themselves once cheated, be a long time over-jealous of a like design upon them.

VI. From the premises duly considered will, I hope, in the close, be inferred the strongest motive and obligation upon all among us, heartily to embrace and steadily to persevere in the communion of our Church : to share in those happy advantages and blessings, which all who rightly improve it, may promise themselves therein. She desires by all means possible to convince their consciences, and incline their affections to a willing compliance with their indispensable duty and highest privilege, rather than overawe their persons by severe censures, or the following condign punishments. Nay, if necessity force upon any the execution of the last, when they will not hearken to the former, she pleads the same charity for the principle of both, not only to prevent others from being seduced by the same errors ; but also thus to deter them from more dismal ruin here and hereafter, which hangs over them, persisting still in the same obstinacy.* Of all she hath the tenderest compassion, though making a difference, but without partiality. Some must be saved with fear, and almost violently pulled out of the fire.

Men may make a noise with the odious name of persecution ; yet our adversaries of both extremes have little reason to object that, of which they themselves stand so deeply chargeable when in their power. But we rely not on that plea, which

* St. Augustin. adv. Epist. Petiliani, l. 2. t. 7. p. 101. [Bassani, 1797. vol. 12. col. 300. E.] Non vos occidimus, sed ipsi vosmet vera morte occiditis, cum vos ab Unitatis viva radice præciditis.

however it offend them, would not clear us. No settled government, civil or sacred, was ever, or is more gentle and compassionate in its inflictions than ours. If when this tenderness is requited with new and greater insolence, and more obstinate contempt, authority begin to put on a more harsh and severe countenance, and make use of the rod of its power to correct the peevishness of some, or restrain the extravagances of others, it is to be hoped they will in the end find it for their edification, and not for their destruction, and may see cause to bless God, and thank their governors for those benign penalties, which almost forcibly opened their eyes to discern that evidence, which pertinacious obstinacy had shut them against in all other persuasives, as St. Augustin* declares several of the Donatists had professed to him, and therefore saw great reason to recall and recant the many clamours they had raised on this occasion. I hope we are not without many sensible instances of the good effect hereof among ourselves, though it be very different in some from what it is in others ; but the tendency of it is certain to what is good in all.

Experience and farther consideration may have made all prudent and sober friends to true piety, virtue, and good order, ashamed of the popular plea of liberty, or that men ought to be left free from any restraint or impositions in matters of religion and conscience ; which must needs confound all peace, and overturn all government in every society, and so destroy the being of the Church as such, and expose private persons to all manner of strange delusions and extravagant enterprises, without the least guard or defence ; beside the ill aspect it hath on the civil peace ; I may add, it never was, and I doubt never will be practised by any party of men, when they can do otherwise, who flee to it only for sanctuary, when they can find shelter nowhere beside. Would men but impartially look abroad, or consult former times, or but really consider what were like to be their state under any other settled constitution, by whatever favourable character it may have been represented, they might find little temptation to querulous uneasiness in their present condition, and small encouragement to seek and improve every occasion to quarrel at those few and mild restraints laid on them, especially if withal they would faith-

* St. Aug. Epist. 48. ad Vincentium, t. 2. p. 167, 174. [Bassani, 1797, vol. 12. col. 308] Nam de multorum jam correctione gandemas qui tam veraciter unitatem Catholicam tenent atque defendant et a prestino errore se liberatos esse lætantur.]

fully reflect upon the ill use which hath been made of more remissness.

Indeed Christianity, which is the Gospel of love and peace, and is almost wholly made up of charity, inclines us first and most to the mildest methods as most grateful, most likely to win upon other men's good affections, and to testify our own. But then this mildness may be turned into the greatest cruelty, to the guilty as well as to the innocent, yea, to the whole community. Our great wisdom will be so to pursue the former, as we may avoid the latter ; and I know not where it is done more cautiously than here.

If we were to examine the strange and stiff averstions in many to the communion of our Church, we shall find them mostly owing to blind prejudice and gross ignorance of what is required of them more than to any other principles. They have been brought up in a very ill opinion of our service, merely by odious names, sly and invidious characters given to it from persons whose sincerity and judgment they rely on, and so are before resolved against any farther inquiry, and industriously shun all opportunities of better information, either by personal conference or reading our books. They think themselves sufficiently satisfied, and go on to hate and revile, but they often know not what nor why. If we could bring them to make their own trial, who are always jealous of any attempts from us, matter of fact would be their best confutation, and their own eyes and ears prove their most effectual conviction, so as to wonder at their former obstinacy, which some of them have confessed upon this experience. I believe were some fierce dissenters asked, they can scarce say that they ever seriously read, or attentively heard the Liturgy, and know very little what it is therein which offends them ; I am sure they will hardly tell us. Sometimes mere novelty startles them, and they are afraid only for not being used to it.

These, and many such little objections, that we can scarce guess at, would soon be removed by this sensible proof reached down to all capacities ; and a sober, steady temper of mind, with a firm and well grounded belief in most of the material points of Christian doctrine, variously inculcated in the several offices of our Liturgy, would grow up more and more in them. For want of this, we find in several zealots very little knowledge of the first principles of Christian religion, and indeed very little to be learnt from those sorts of discourses and phrases to which they have been hitherto used. But more par-

ticularly may these reflections be applied to invite the Romanists amongst us into the free, sincere, and cordial communion with the Church of England, which once, though only to outward appearance, they generally observed, and have almost nothing to object against it, but the rash and schismatical interdict of a foreign usurped power. That the terms of our communion are most truly Catholic, hath been the chief design of this small tract to prove, and thereby to prevent the common prejudice from the name of the Catholic and Apostolic Church ; in which, whatever they assume to themselves, we have as good a title to our share as any Church in the world. And no sensible evidence have we of our communion with that Catholic Church, but by communicating with the more particular Church, in which Divine providence hath placed us, where nothing is required of us repugnant to the bond of unity in the whole.

Many of our Church, yea our constitution itself, have been often charged and reviled, though most unjustly, with too favourable an inclination to them of Rome ; because whatever of good order and decent solemnity, as well as sound doctrine, and wholesome instruction, was found among them, is still retained and cherished by us. And that we are not so hasty and peremptory in unchurching them all together, or damning presently all that have been, or are still of their communion, as some would have us ; which is, in effect, for being more tender in preserving the principles of true Catholic unity, than in pleasing some private humours or prejudices.

Still we must be aware, that no pretended charity to them, nor yet compliance with those who pretend the greatest opposition to them, must tempt us to betray the truth of God, or violate our obligation to his commands on either side ; and within those bonds to consult, as much as possible, the peace and unity of his Church, and continue therein. If the former retort our kindness upon us in new oppositions ; if the latter load our religious care and modest caution with all those dreadful imputations due to others ; if we suffer from both sides, whilst it is only for speaking the truth, and doing our duty, which we have no power to alter ; we may justify ourselves before God and our own consciences, and in due time, with all good, reasonable, and considerative men, and then it is no matter what the clamours and captious cavils of others lay upon us.

But yet our adversaries of the Roman persuasion must take notice, that while we are so wary and sparing in our censures of them, we are not the less apprehensive of the extreme danger

which attends those gross errors and superstitions wherewith we charge them, which have a direct tendency to their ruin, and very much undermine the foundations of faith and good life, which they own in common with us. What may be their influence upon any particular persons is more than we dare determine, and think always more safe to incline to the favourable side, where it may be without prejudice to what is certainly true and good. Notwithstanding whatever our opinion be, that will not alter the case at last ; and thus far we are most determinate, that the corruptions among them are such, which every Church is bound to reform, and every true Christian to keep at a distance from as much as is in his power.

Whatsoever were the condition of those who lived in that communion before the Reformation, many of them groaned under those oppressions, from which we are happily freed ; nay, whatever charitable allowance may still be made for them, who now live within those boundaries, where they have little opportunity of knowing better, and are under vast prejudices by contrary education, and the severest awe over them ; how far, I say, these cases may be pleadable, must be left to God and their own consciences.

As for those born and bred amongst us, who have been treacherously deluded into apostasy from us, or will persist in their hereditary obstinate perverseness to us, against the clearest conviction which they may receive, and in opposition to the express laws of God and of the land, to the perpetual disturbance of the state and confusion of the Church : there appears no room for any excuse to lessen their crime, or alleviate their doom, which will be mightily increased, when all manner of hidden and crafty artifices, or open violences against the common rights of humane society and moral honesty, as well as the faith and charity of Christ's Church, are employed and consecrated into a religious but blind zeal for the destruction of both.

No marvel, if the nation, awakened with the effects hereof, which it hath sometimes felt, and oftener had reason to fear, have provided some severe laws for an awe over them, and to stop the first beginnings of such exorbitant attempts, ready to break through all ordinary inclosures, and which will hardly be restrained by the usual methods of government. No temper is more difficultly mastered, or more mischievous, if let loose, than such a false fiery zeal, which neglected, burns all before it.

But whatever may have been their treatment of us formerly,

or we may justly apprehend would be still, had they any opportunity, which God prevent, we ought not, and hope shall not ever desist from wishing and endeavouring, as much as is in our power, their real welfare, and so of all our implacable enemies, and therein their hearty union with us in the holy offices of religion and fellowship of God's Church where they live, with the sincere renunciation of those dangerous errors and practices that hitherto keep them at a distance from us.

In conclusion, instead of querulous expostulations, or catching occasions to find fault, we have great reason to admire and adore that gracious Providence, which amidst so many confusions, disorders, and corruptions, that prevail too much in most places round about, hath placed our lot in so happy a soil, and provided for us so goodly a heritage, and safe retreat in the bosom of that Church, whose charity is as eminent as its faith, and its order is as signal as its purity ; whose arms are always open to receive its returning enemies with the most tender compassions, as well as to cherish its faithful friends with the most wholesome and indulgent provisions ; where nothing is wanting to ensure our safety, and encourage our proficiency in every thing that is good and excellent : which, upon former trial of both the opposite extremes, the whole kingdom hath seen necessary to flee back into, to repair the confusions and devastations they had wrought ; and in its most dangerous convulsions here hath found the readiest cure, and under whose name her very enemies desire to shelter themselves ; which, finally, engages us to express our gratitude for so peculiar privileges, by ready and impartial obedience to the holy doctrine we are taught, and a fruitful improvement of all those happy advantages which we enjoy therein. That our lives may be answerable to our profession, and our pious, virtuous, peaceable, and charitable conversation may be in some proportion as defensible, and remarkable, as the principles we proceed upon, or the benefits we lay claim to.

This would most effectually silence the captious cavils of our enemies on every side, and more powerfully invite them to our communion, than all other the most demonstrative arguments, when their very senses would bear witness that God is in us of a truth. I hope we are not destitute of some such eminent examples of unfeigned piety, true holiness, and universal probity. God Almighty increase their number more and more : yet whatsoever may be the effect thereof upon other men, this method would most unquestionably ensure our own firmest

peace here, and everlasting salvation hereafter. Here we keep certainly within our own bounds, and may most safely and profitably spend all our zeal, while other men please themselves in diverting it abroad to what they have no power over. It seems horrible nauseous to hear men quarrel fiercely about the best Church, who live in the most open defiance to all religion; and I doubt there are too many of all denominations chargeable herewith. Yet whatever the case of others prove, it will be most safe and pious to bring it home, and close to ourselves. Be our Church or our profession never so much better than any other, if we be not also suitably better than other men, they will rise up in judgment against us at the last.

But by a careful and diligent observance of its sacred prescriptions, we shall justify our reformation throughout, put a stop to the reproaches, and shame the calumnies of our adversaries, and which is the summary of all good intentions and endeavours, bring honour to our great Lord and master, the author and finisher of our faith.

A VINDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FROM
THE FOUL ASPERSIONS OF SCHISM AND HERESY, UN-
JUSTLY CAST UPON HER BY THE CHURCH OF ROME.

P A R T I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THERE is nothing more frequent among those of the Romish communion, than to charge those of the Reformation with the guilt of schism and heresy. They blacken us with those odious names of schismatic and heretic; and though we do publicly declare our abhorrence of those crimes, and disavow both the name and thing; yet must we be represented as such, and under that character be exposed to the world.

Whether this charge be just or unjust, will appear by the sequel of this discourse. But whethersoever it be, certain it is, that it is generally taken for granted among them, that we are such. A late author of theirs, in answer to this question, “Why are you a Catholic?” having, as he thinks, charged these crimes home upon Protestants, at length sums up his harangue in these words, p. 12:—“Now it being impossible for Protestants to excuse, much less to justify their manifest schism, to what purpose is it to enter into debate with them about particular points of doctrine? As long as the charge of schism subsists, uncleared by them, and this schism grounded on pretended dangerous errors in the Catholic Church, being schismatics, they are heretics too, and so condemned by themselves, and consequently not to be hearkened to, when they would raise particular controversies; since this one general controversy determines against them all particular debates.”

And now, who would not think that here was a fair end put to all debates, between the Church of Rome and us? for if we be really schismatics, and our schism so manifest that it will admit of no excuse, much less of any justification, then this

gentleman is in the right, that it is to little purpose to enter into debate with us about particular points of doctrine. But if we be not only schismatics, but heretics too, then ought we not to be hearkened to in any particular controversy whatsoever.

But if this gentleman should happen to be mistaken in all this, and that we are neither schismatics nor heretics ; but that our separation from the Church of Rome is not only excusable, but justifiable too, being grounded not on pretended, but really dangerous errors, not in the Catholic Church, but in the particular Church of Rome : then I hope we may stand upon even ground with them, and be permitted to debate the matter in difference between us ! which if we be, as they hitherto have done, so I hope they always will find us ready to stand the shock, and make good our ground.

As for the crimes they charge us with, we have as great, it may be a greater abhorrence of them than they have; let them draw them in the most frightful shapes imaginable ; let them expose them under the most black and dismal character that is possible, yet can they not represent them worse than we already think of them. So far are we from owning either the name or thing. We believe they are most horrible sins, so dangerous and destructive, that men are thereby out of the ordinary ways and means of salvation ; they tear in pieces the mystical body of Christ, and are an inlet to all those mischiefs that do or can happen to the Church of God. And after such a declaration as this, can we be thought to believe ourselves guilty of them ?

We are thus far agreed, that schism and heresy are dangerous sins, destructive of the peace and order, the well being at least, if not the being of God's Church ; and such sins, as without a true and timely repentance, will unavoidably and eternally ruin those that are guilty of them. It will therefore greatly concern all persons, as well Papists as Protestants, to clear themselves of these crimes.

To wipe off this scandal, which is so unjustly thrown upon the Church of England, and those in communion with her, is the design of these papers. And to effect this, I know no better way than by laying open the nature and true notion of these two crimes, viz. schism and heresy ; and then considering to whom they are applicable. This I shall endeavour to do as briefly and as plainly as I can ; but because they are different crimes, to avoid confusion, I shall consider them apart ; and, in the first place, shall begin with that of schism.

SECT. I.

Of Schism in general.

The word schism, in its original signification, imports no more, but only a division, rent, or breach ; and is more properly applicable unto things than persons. I could, if it were necessary, produce several instances out of profane authors, where it is thus used ; but waiving these, I shall at present offer you only one instance, in which our blessed Saviour thus applies the word. “No man,” saith he, “puts a piece of new cloth into an old garment ; for that which is put in taketh from the garment, (*καὶ χειρὸν χιστὰ γίνεται*), and the rent or breach is made worse.” Mat. ix. 16.

When therefore we meet with this word applied to persons, it is not properly, but metaphorically used ; importing a division among them, occasioned by misunderstanding, diversity of opinions, discontent, or otherwise. Now forasmuch as every division supposes an unity, and that unity broken ; it cannot be applied to single persons, but persons in society, who live in communion with one another, and are obliged so to do by some common ties and obligations.

There are two great and eminent societies in the world, viz. the civil and ecclesiastical ; and both these are the subjects of schism, *i. e.* they are both liable to have their unity broken, their peace disturbed, and their communion rent and shattered, if not dissolved by evil members.

As for the former, viz. the civil state, when, by some factious and seditious members, feuds and animosities are fomented ; and by that means the unity is broken, and the body divided into several parties ; then doth it labour under a dangerous schism. We have an eminent instance hereof in Holy Writ ; the ten tribes of Israel being violently rent and torn from the house of David, in the days of Rehoboam.* Nor are we without as great an instance in our own memories, and in this kingdom. But this is not the schism we are now to treat of.

As for the other, viz. the ecclesiastical state, it is no less subject to it than the civil. And hath been so much pestered therewith, that from the first foundation thereof until this day, we can hardly name a time, I am sure no long time, in which it did ever enjoy perfect peace and tranquillity. How much

* 1 Kings xii. 16.

the Church of God is broken and divided, and crumbled into parties and factions at this day, is but too apparent ; and who can look upon those wounds and bruises which she hath received thereby, without melting into tears, and being overwhelmed with grief and sorrow ? How great and crying their sin is, who have been the occasion thereof, they will one day find, and severely suffer for it, unless with the tears of true and unfeigned repentance, they do in time wash off the guilt of it, and by that means find favour with God. I pray God give us all grace seriously to consider what share we have in the Church's sufferings, and in our several places to make it our great and only business, to restore peace and unity thereunto.

SECT. II.

Of Schism in the Church.

This is the crime, which by our adversaries is laid to our charge, and this is that which I have undertaken to vindicate the Church of England from. And it is high time to do it, for on that account they begin to look very scornfully upon us, and esteem us no better than heathens and publicans. And we are roundly told, that whilst our schism subsists uncleared, it is to no purpose to enter into debate with us about any particular points of doctrine, nor are we to be hearkened to in any particular controversy. But if a bare accusation, without proof, be a sufficient conviction, they may do well to look to themselves ; for there are those who will not stick to charge them with the same crime, and perhaps upon better grounds than they charge us ; and if so, then their argument may be retorted upon themselves. But I do not think a bare recrimination sufficient either to clear us, or burthen them ; and therefore I have chosen another method, viz. by laying open the nature of schism, and stating the notion of it in so large, plain, and comprehensive terms, that it may easily be applied to those who are guilty of it. And in pursuance of this method I shall now present you with a definition of schism.

Schism is a voluntary and causeless separation from the communion of a Christian Church, of which we are Members.

This I take to be as large and comprehensive a definition of schism as they can justly require. By this we are willing to

be tried ; and if found guilty, to submit to the censure due to schismatics ; and would willingly hope, (though as yet we have no great reason for it) that our adversaries will be so ingenuous too.

To put the matter therefore upon trial, I shall take this definition in pieces, and having laid the several parts before you, proceed to discourse of them severally.

1. Schism is a separation, *i. e.* a breach of unity, and dividing of some well compacted body.

2. It is a separation from a Christian Church, *i. e.* from such a society, between which and us there either is or ought to be a religious union and conjunction ; for between Christians and Jews or Turks, there can be no schism, because they are not joined together in any religious society.

3. It is a separation from the communion of that Church, in faith, worship, and government, under that notion, as they are bonds of communion.

4. It is a voluntary and causeless separation, *i. e.* being neither forced thereunto, nor having any sufficient cause or ground for so doing.

5. It is a separation from that Church, of which we are members, *i. e.* which hath a jurisdiction over us, and to which we owe subjection and obedience.

SECT. III.

Schism is a Separation.

The word schism naturally imports a separation, and the word separation as naturally implies a breach of unity, in which consists a good part of the nature of schism : yet are they not terms convertible ; for though every schism be a separation, yet every separation is not a schism, in the strict notion of it, unless it be attended with all those other requisites of a schism. There may be a good and lawful, as well as an evil and sinful separation. If a separation be grounded upon good reason, and managed to good ends and purposes, then is it not only good and lawful, nor only excusable, but very well justifiable too. But if there be no good ground for it, nor any good end promoted by it, then is it evil and unlawful, and by no means excusable, much less justifiable. The former of these seems

to be warranted by the express doctrine of St. Paul, who tells us, "That there can be no fellowship between righteousness and unrighteousness, nor any communion between light and darkness, nor any concord between Christ and Belial, nor any participation between a believer and an infidel, nor any agreement between the temple of God and idols."* And thence concludes, "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you." And the other seems to be as plainly condemned by the same Apostle, who commands us "to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Eph. iv. 3.

This may be farther illustrated by some familiar instances. Suppose a society of thieves and robbers, or any other sort of wicked men, united and linked together by some common ties, rules and laws, framed and devised by themselves, for the support of their wicked community ; if any one should separate himself from that company, and thereby not only break the unity, but do what in him lies to dissolve the society itself, would this be imputed to him as a crime ? Or would it not rather be looked upon by all mankind as a good and generous, and in a sober sense, as a meritorious act ? Or suppose any particular society of men, though legally established, yet making the terms of their communion such as could not in honesty and justice be complied with ; if any one should separate himself from that society, would it be a crime in him ? Or ought he not rather to be commended for it ? But it is far otherwise in the body politic, which is the aggregation of all particular persons, and all particular lawful societies : if any one shall separate himself therefrom, and thereby break the unity and disturb the peace thereof, he will by all men be judged guilty of sedition and treason. And the reason is evident, because in the two former cases men have a greater liberty of judging and acting than they have in this : for those at best are but the ordinances of men, but government is the ordinance of God ; and therefore, though upon just ground we may separate from them, though it be to the hazard of their peace and unity, yet can we have no just ground of separation from this. For though the governors may sometimes happen to be wicked and ungodly men, yet the government still is sacred, and it is not for subjects to call their sovereigns to account : it is our duty to study and pray for the peace and safety, and to acquiesce in

* 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15, 16, 17.

the rules and determinations thereof ; choosing rather to suffer under it, than disturb the peace of it : and if, either through the ignorance or inadvertency of those in authority, there happen any maladministration in the government, it is not the governed, but the governors, that stand accountable to God for it.

And thus it is in the Church : let us suppose a number of schismatics and heretics, who have banded themselves together, and formed themselves into a society, under the strictest rules and laws they could devise, as the Donatists and Novatians of old did. If any one should separate himself from their communion, and return into the bosom of the Church, this certainly would never be imputed to him as a crime. Or suppose a particular Church, though lawfully constituted and established under lawful governors, should make the terms of her communion such, as that her neighbour Churches could not, without sin and danger, hold communion with her ; would a separation in this case be adjudged a schism ? Or would it not rather be looked upon as their duty and interest to withdraw from her ? But it is far otherwise in the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church ; for though there may be some reasons to warrant a separation from those, yet can there be no reason why we should separate from her. And the reason is evident, because she being founded by God, and having his promise for her preservation, can never give any occasion thereof. Whosoever therefore separateth from her, puts himself out of the ordinary ways and means of salvation, and becomes guilty of the greatest and most dangerous schism.

By this time, I hope, it is evident, that though every schism import a separation, yet every separation doth not make a schism. Nor is it every unity that we are to be so tender of, but only the Catholic unity of God's Church. And now let us apply this to our present case.

We are charged with schism by the Church of Rome, because we have separated from her communion. Though this might safely be denied, and it might perhaps upon better grounds be said, that she hath separated from us, not we from her ; yet for the present we will admit of it, and give her this reason for it : we have separated from her, because she hath made the terms of her communion such as, till they are reformed, we cannot without sin and danger join with her.

The Church of Rome being only a particular Church (and not the Catholic Church, as some of her parasites would fain

persuade us), hath no more security from error and mistakes than the rest of her neighbours. And therefore, if this reason be true, she cannot deny (if she will be ingenuous) but that we have a just ground of separation, and consequently are no schismatics. And that it is true, as it hath often been demonstrated, so we are ready still to do the same again, whenever we shall be called to it. But that being no part of my design at this time, I shall proceed.

SECT. IV.

Schism is a separation from a Christian Church.

As separation is the act, so a Christian Church is the subject of schism, *i. e.* as it is a body compacted and united together by the bands and ligaments of our common Christianity; for where there is no union or conjunction, there can be no schism; and therefore between Christians and Jews or Mahometans, there can be no schism, because they are not joined together in any religious society. Now the Christian Church may be considered, either as it is Catholic and Universal, or as it is particular.

1. If we consider it as Catholic and Universal, there are three several notions of it. Sometimes it is taken for the Catholic Church diffusive, *i. e.* for the whole body of Christians dispersed upon the face of the whole earth, and so it comprehends all persons, and all particular Churches professing Christianity. And this I take to be the true and genuine notion of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, mentioned in our Creed. And whosoever shall make a defection or separation from this Church, will be found guilty of a manifest dangerous and most abominable schism. Sometimes it is taken for the Catholic Church representative, *i. e.* for the prelates and pastors of the Universal Church, delegated by their several particular churches, and assembled in a Council truly free and general. And wherever we meet with such an one, we pay all deference and regard that is due to the decisions and determinations of it; and if any man, or any society of men, shall set up his or their private judgments against the public judgment of the Church, declared in a Council truly free and general, and shall be so tenacious of their own opinions, as upon that account to break communion with the Church, I do not see how they can be excused from the sin of schism. Sometimes it

is taken for the Catholic Church, virtual, and so it is generally understood by our adversaries, though they do not agree among themselves. For some of them would confine the notion of the Church virtual to the Pope alone, others to the Pope in Conclave; some to the Pope in Council, but these differ among themselves, some telling us that the Pope is above the Council, others that the Council is above the Pope. Others there are, who, to put a better face upon the matter, do by the Catholic Church virtual, understand the Church of Rome, and all those other Churches which are in communion with her. I shall not undertake to arbitrate this difference, but leaving these several parties to compromise the matter among themselves as well as they can, I shall call in an unexceptionable witness to testify that this is the notion which the Church of Rome now hath of the Catholic Church, and that is Monsieur de Meaux, the late Bishop of Condom, who, in his Exposition of the Catholic Faith, &c. tells us, he will say nothing but what shall be warranted by the Church; and to make his words good, he produceth great credentials from the Pope and many other great men. This great and learned prelate, in his Exposition of the Catholic Faith, &c. hath these words: "We acknowledge a head established by God, to conduct his whole flock in his paths, which head is the Pope, as successor to St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and that the papal chair is the common centre of all Catholic unity."* And in another place he promiseth not to meddle with anything but the decrees of the Council of Trent,† because in them the Church hath given her decision upon these matters now in agitation. Which Council was called by the Pope's authority only, and the true sense of all its decrees, (by the bull of Pope Pius IV.) reserved to be explained by him alone. So that the great noise of the Catholic Church is at last dwindled into the Roman Catholic, which we of the Church of England take to be a contradiction *in terminis*, the same with a particular Universal; for they may as well say that the city of Rome is all the world, as that the Church of Rome is the Catholic Church. Besides, this notion of the Catholic Church virtual is altogether new, having no foundation either in the Holy Scriptures, or in any primitive and authentic antiquity, and therefore we can by no means admit of it.

* Sect. 21. p. 50.

† Sect. 1. p. 2. [I will not meddle with anything but the decrees of the Council of Trent]

This is that Church, by which and towards which we are charged with the guilt of the horrible sin of schism. And God be thanked it is no worse, for from any criminal schism in this case, I hope we shall, without any great difficulty, be able to acquit ourselves.

2. If we consider a Christian Church as it is particular, then are we to understand it of a number of men professing Christianity, formed into a society under lawful governors, and governed by such laws and rules, as are not different from, but agreeable to the laws and rules of the Catholic Church. And if any man, or number of men, who are members of that society, shall without just cause separate themselves from the communion thereof, he or they so doing are certainly guilty of schism. Nor is every occasion which a capricious humour or discontent may suggest to us, to be taken as a sufficient ground of separation ; nay, though there be something really amiss, or at least we are persuaded that there is so, in the doctrine or discipline of that Church whereof we are members ; yet ought we rather to suspect our own judgments, and suppress our own sentiments, than break the unity and peace thereof. In a word, unless such a particular Church shall make the terms of her communion such as cannot be complied with without sin, I do not know any other just ground of separation therefrom.

Thus have I considered the subject of schism in its greatest latitude. And now let us see how far anything that may be gathered from hence can affect the Church of England.

1. If the Church of England hath made no defection from the Catholic Church diffusive, *i. e.* from the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which compriseth all men and all societies of men professing Christianity : nor from the Catholic Church representative, *i. e.* the prelates and pastors of the Universal Church, lawfully assembled in a Council that is truly free and general. If she profess no other doctrine, nor exercise any other discipline than what she hath received from Christ and his Apostles, and was constantly professed and exercised by their successors in the primitive Church. If she be willing to submit all matters in difference between her and any other sister Church to be tried by the holy Scriptures, the primitive Fathers, and the decisions of the four first General Councils. Then can she not be justly charged with schism on that account. And that she doth and is willing to do all this that is here supposed, we are ready to

make good, whenever our adversaries shall give us the occasion so to do.

2. If their notion of a Church virtually Catholic be altogether new, without any foundation, either in the Holy Scriptures, or in any primitive and authentic antiquity, then the power and privileges which the present Church of Rome challengeth upon that account, are mere nullities, and consequently the schism which she chargeth the Church of England with upon that score, a mere chimera, which vanisheth of itself. If they think to avoid the force of this supposition, they must produce some good and authentic record, which as yet hath not been discovered.

3. If the Church of Rome be only a particular Church, and no otherwise Catholic than her neighbours are, who profess the same common Christianity. If she can have no more power to censure us, than we have to censure her: then can she not, without great presumption, and greater injustice, charge us with the sin of schism. It is true, indeed, we do not join in communion with her, and the reason why we do not I have given in the third section. But it is as true that we hold the Catholic unity, and for the sake of that, they themselves will grant that we may lawfully depart from the unity of any particular Church.

SECT. V.

Schism is a separation from the communion of a Christian Church.

As the act of schism is separation, and the subject thereof a Christian Church, so the object in and about which the separation is made, is the communion of that Church. Now there are three great bonds of communion, viz., faith, worship, and government; and whosoever shall separate either from the Catholic or any particular Church, whereof he is a member, in any of these, I do not see how he or they so doing, can be acquitted from the guilt of schism, unless the corruption in some one or more of these be so great, as to render the communion sinful to him who knows it.

SECT. VI.

Of Faith as it is a bond of communion.

By faith here I understand the established doctrine of the Church, that common Christianity which we all profess to

own and embrace. For it is not every doctrine that is received and taught in any particular Church that is properly the bond of communion, but such doctrine as is or ought to be received by all. It is plain, and our adversaries themselves will acknowledge it, that we may and ought to differ from particular Churches in some doctrines; otherwise, why do they differ from us, from the Greek Church, and indeed all other Churches besides their own, in many things? On this score it is, that we cannot receive their new articles of faith, those additions which are made unto, and those alterations which are made in the old and common Christianity by their Council of Trent.

We believe all that is contained in the Holy Scriptures to be infallibly true, all that was ever taught by Christ and his Apostles, and their successors, the primitive pastors and governors of the Church, we readily comply with: we believe all the articles contained in those three ancient creeds, viz., that commonly called the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. We are willing to submit to all the decisions and the determinations of the four first General Councils, and to any Council that is lawfully called, and truly free and general. We are ready to receive all traditions that are truly Apostolical; and we are willing to embrace any other truth as yet unknown to us, whensoever or by whomsoever it shall be duly made out to be so. And whilst we do this, we cannot truly be charged to have broken communion with the Catholic Church, nor justly reputed schismatics therefrom.

And as for the Church of Rome, she being only a particular Church, hath no jurisdiction at all over the Church of England, and consequently no more power to censure us than we have to censure her; for in this case the rule holds (*Par in parem non habet imperium*), equals have no authority over one another. And therefore for her to impose her new articles of faith upon the Church of England, and because she refuseth to receive them and join communion with her upon those terms, presently cry out, "Schism, schism," is so idle, so vain, so unaccountable a clamour, as I am persuaded the learned among them cannot but disapprove it. For whilst we hold the Catholic faith entire, and maintain communion with the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church therein; though we differ from the Church of Rome, or any other particular Church in some doctrines, yet is it impossible that we should be guilty of a schismatical separation either from her or them.

SECT. VII.

Of worship as it is a bond of communion.

By worship here, I mean public worship, and that considered only in its substantials and essentials, not as it is clothed with particular modes, rites, and ceremonies : otherwise it can be no bond of communion. The substantial and essential parts of public worship, I take to be these, viz., prayer, reading the holy canon, interpreting the same, and the administration of the blessed sacraments. Now these in divers Churches may be performed in different manners, and with different rites and ceremonies ; and yet those Churches, notwithstanding this, may still hold communion with the Catholic Church, and consequently be guilty of no schismatical separation therefrom, nor from one another. But if we by worship understand the established public worship of a particular Church, then are we to consider it, not as abstracted from, but clothed with such modes, rites, and ceremonies as are thought convenient by that Church. And if any one who is a member of such a Church shall, upon any pretended offence taken against any such modes, rites, and ceremonies, separate himself from the public worship, I do not see how he can be acquitted from the guilt of schism.

And this I take to be the case, not only of the Protestant dissenters from the Church of England (as they call themselves), but of English Roman Catholics too. For that they did hold actual communion with us many years together, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and neither then, nor ever since, did pretend to take any offence at the substantials of our worship, is very plain and evident. And that it was not we that separated from them, but they that separated from us, is as manifest ; and therefore it will concern them more than us to clear themselves from the sin of schism : and for this I know no other plea they can make use of than their obedience to the universal pastor of God's Church ; which plea is to be considered under the next great bond of communion, viz. government.

SECT. VIII.

Of government, as it is a bond of communion.

That our great and universal pastor, the Lord Jesus Christ, did found and constitute a Church, and that he did

not leave it without laws and rules to be governed by, nor without proper governors invested with power and authority to exert and execute those laws, we steadfastly believe. But that he ever did delegate all his power to any one, or substitute any one person to be the universal pastor of the Church after him, we cannot believe, because we have no ground for it, either in Scripture, or any other primitive and authentic antiquity : and, indeed, how should we ? for till the bishops of Rome and Constantinople began to envy one another's greatness, and to strive for supremacy (which was about 600 years after Christ), the Church was never acquainted with any such name or thing as is now claimed. And no sooner did it adventure to peep abroad, but warning was given against it as antichristian, and that by one of their Popes. And when afterwards it was publicly usurped, it was condemned by a General Council ; and they are not yet agreed among themselves where to fix it : and therefore they cannot in reason expect that we should build our faith upon such an uncertain foundation, or make that a bond of communion in the Church, which the Church, from 600 years and upwards, knew nothing of.

That government is a bond of communion in the Christian Church we acknowledge ; and that it was never lodged in the hands of any one person since our Saviour, I think it is very plain and evident. But where then doth it reside ? This will best be known, by considering how it is derived. That it was united in the person of our blessed Saviour will be acknowledged on all hands ; and where he left it, there we are to look for it. Now that he left it with his Apostles, and made them equal sharers therein, I think is very plain (notwithstanding that pretence which is made by our adversaries, that it was lodged in Peter alone ; a pretence which hath been so often and so miserably baffled ; and which, if it were true, would do them no service, that I wonder they are not ashamed to bring it upon the stage any more). And that from the Apostles it was derived to their successors, the bishops and pastors of God's Church, is the received opinion of all antiquity. And that it now lies dispersed among all the pastors and bishops of particular Churches (unless they be lawfully called and assembled in synods or councils), under the power, protection, and assistance of civil authority, we verily believe.* This is the

* Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Cypr. de Unitate Ecclesiae, Edit. Oxon. p. 108. [1682.]

notion we have of the visible and external government of the Catholic Church ; and as it hath been, so, if there were occasion for it, may it still be made appear to have been the very notion that all the world (except those who have submitted to the usurpation of Rome) ever had, and still have of it to this day. Now the laws and rules by which this government is administered are to be found in the holy Scriptures, in the usages and customs of the primitive Church, and in the canons and constitutions of the four first General Councils.

But if by government we understand the government of particular Churches, then is it lodged in the pastors and governors of those churches, and is to be administered by them according to such laws and rules as are agreeable to those of the Catholic Church. And in this case it can have no influence from one national Church to another ; for as such they are equal ; and equals have no power over one another. But whosoever is a member of any such Church, and refuseth all due obedience to the pastors and governors thereof, doth thereby contract the guilt of schism.

Now whether the Church of England or the Church of Rome, by the violation of all these bonds of communion, have disturbed the peace of the Christian Church, broken the unity of the Universal, and of all particular Churches, and thereby incurred the guilt of schism. You may take a prospect in this short parallel which I shall now lay before you.

1. As for faith considered as a bond of communion. What the Church of England believes, and what she is ready and willing to comply with, I have told you in the sixth section. But the Church of Rome, not contented therewith, added to the sacred canon some apocryphal books, which were never before received either into the Jewish or Christian canon. And as if the revealed will of God were an imperfect rule, she undertakes to supply the defects of it by groundless traditions. She makes new creeds (witness the Trent Creed), and that both without the consent of the present, and against the doctrine and practice of ancient Churches. Now which of these hath violated this bond of communion, judge ye.

2. As for worship considered as a bond of communion, I have given you our sentiments of it, and told you wherein it consists in the seventh section. Now how far the Church of Rome hath corrupted that pure worship of God, both by her subtractions and additions, I shall briefly acquaint you. As for prayer, it must be performed in public in an unknown tongue,

which the people understand not. So that they must not know what they pray for, and consequently cannot with any true devotion say, Amen. It must be offered to saints and angels, and not immediately to God, who glories to be styled a God hearing prayers. And this we take to be an act of religious worship due to the Creator only, but by them paid to creatures. As for the reading of holy Scriptures, if any portion of them be read in public, it must be in Latin ; a language not understood by the people, and therefore impossible for them to be instructed by it. It is true, indeed, they sometimes interpret some portion of Scripture, by preaching in the vulgar language ; but then the people must take all they say upon trust ; they must not, without special leave, be allowed the Bible in their own language, no not in private, lest with the noble Bereans, they should examine whether those things be so or no. As for the sacraments, they have added five that were never instituted by Christ, and taken away half of one of those, which they cannot but own was of his institution, *i. e.* they deprive the laity of the cup in the Lord's Supper ; besides those many superstitions which they have intermixed, and therewith corrupted the pure and primitive worship of God. Now let any indifferent person judge, whether they or we have violated this bond of communion, and consequently which of us may be charged with schism.

3. As for government considered as a bond of communion. What our thoughts are of it, you may see in the beginning of this section. Now how far the Church of Rome doth differ, not only from us, but from the Catholic Church, both ancient and modern, and from all other particular churches in this point, will appear, if we consider, that she usurps a dominion condemned as antichristian by one of their own Popes, disowned by the whole Church at that time, and which we at present cannot own, without betraying the liberty of the Church. That by virtue of his usurped power she imposeth unreasonable and unlawful conditions of communion, and for non-compliance therewith, excommunicates not only the Church of England, but, as some will tell you, three parts of the Christian world besides. Now if the Church of Rome, by setting up and exercising this exorbitant power, hath broken this bond of communion, then who is chargeable with the schism, judge ye.

SECT. IX.

Schism is a voluntary and causeless separation from the communion of a Christian Church.

These are the two conditions of schism, it must be voluntary and causeless ; and from these two conditions it receives its greatest aggravation, and becomes a sin of the deepest dye and greatest guilt.

I. It must be a voluntary separation.

I call it voluntary, to distinguish sin from punishment, schism from excommunication ; for though by the latter a man be cast out of the Church, and made no member thereof ; yet, strictly speaking, he is thereby separated from the Church, and doth not separate himself ? It is true, that every sin is a voluntary act in the sinner, but doth that excuse him ? or rather doth it not aggravate his guilt ? If a man be separated from the communion of the Church by some pressing necessity, this may be his misfortune and not his fault. Or if a man be under a constraint, and have a force put upon him ; if he be frightened with threats and menaces, or wheedled with promises and allurements ; if his fears and hopes, those two prevalent passions in man, be raised to that height as to darken his understanding and overpower his will. These circumstances may extenuate, though they cannot altogether excuse his guilt. But when a man doth an evil action, not of chance, but by choice ; not by force, but by inclination ; not rashly and inconsiderately, but deliberately and advisedly. This makes his sin to be exceeding sinful. For thereby the schismatic puts himself out of the ordinary way and means of salvation ; divideth the body of Christ ; despiseth and condemneth the Church of God, and breaketh the bond of peace which ought to be kept entire and inviolate. And, therefore, do I make this a condition of schism, because, if we can suppose a separation from the communion of the Church to be involuntary, it will not deserve that name.

SECT. X.

It must be a causeless separation, &c.

That schism in itself is a great and grievous sin, and in its consequences extremely mischievous to the Church of God, and

to the schismatic himself, is agreed on all hands. But how much greater must the sin needs be, when thereby all this guilt is contracted, and all this mischief done without any cause, *i. e.* without any sufficient cause!

Now a separation may be considered, either as it relates to the Catholic or particular Churches. And then a separation from the Catholic Church taken in the most comprehensive sense, is not schism, but apostasy, and it will be impossible for any man to find a sufficient reason for that.

But if it be considered as a separation from the communion of some particular Church, then it is implied, that possibly there may be such cause given as may justify the separation ; and if so, then the guilt of schism will lie at the door of that Church which gives such cause, and not at his or theirs who separate therefrom. Now I have already told you, that I know no cause which can justify such a separation, save only this, when a Church makes the terms of her communion such as cannot be complied withal without sin. And in this case, methinks it is very plain, that it cannot be sin to separate, when it is sin to communicate ; for no laws of men can abrogate or dissolve the obligation of the express laws of God. But if there be no such cause, then to break communion with any Christian Church, upon any other account, will amount to a causeless separation, and consequently incur the guilt of schism.

If therefore the Church of England ever did, or now doth, forsake the communion of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church ; or if she ever did, or now doth voluntarily and causelessly break communion with any particular Christian Church, then may there be some colour to charge her with the sin of schism ; but if none of all this can be made appear against her, then ought she to be acquitted of that charge. Now, whether any such thing can be made out against her, or whether the whole charge will not fall heavy upon the Church of Rome, will appear in the sequel of this discourse.

SECT. XI.

Schism is a separation from the communion of that Church of which we are members.

This is the last part of our definition, and I add these words (of which we are members) because schism imports a division of some united and well compacted body, or a making two of

that which before was but one. On this score is it, that we cannot charge Turks, Pagans and Jews with schism, because they never were of the Christian Church, nor joined with her in any religious society. And here the Church of Rome will be at a great loss how to fix the guilt of schism upon the Church of England ; for if we neither are, nor ever of right ought to have been under the government of that Church, then hath she no jurisdiction over us, nor do we owe her any subjection and obedience, and consequently cannot be guilty of schism towards her, nor hath she any power to censure us for it. We own her to be a sister Church, and a true, though unsound member of the Catholic Church ; and so far as she holds the Catholic faith and worship, we are ready and willing to hold communion with her. But we cannot submit to her usurpation, nor communicate with her in those errors, abuses, superstitions, additions, subtractions and alterations, by which she hath so grossly corrupted the pure and primitive faith and worship of God's Church.

SECT. XII.

The Church of England acquitted from the scandal of schism.

If this definition of schism be allowed, (as I see no cause why they should disown it) and not applicable to the Church of England, then is she unjustly charged with the guilt of schism by the Church of Rome. Now, whether it be applicable to the Church of England, will appear by taking a review of the several parts of it.

1. Schism is a separation, *i. e.*, a breach of unity, or a dividing of some well compacted body. And here we are charged for breaking the unity, and dividing the body of the Roman Catholic Church, as they call it. To which I answer, if that Church were truly Catholic, either in respect of place or doctrine, this charge would lie heavy upon us ; but being neither, we shall be able, with less difficulty, to answer this objection. It must be acknowledged, that the Church of Rome, at the time of the Reformation, and some long time before that, had usurped a certain power and dominion over us, and had exerted the same in such extravagant impositions as at last became too heavy for us to bear. That Church had indeed, by a long custom, gained such an ascendant over our

forefathers, that she had enslaved their judgments, and obtruded what she pleased upon them ; she had unawares led them into many errors in doctrine, many superstitions in worship, and almost swallowed up their liberty in point of government. At length it pleased God to open the eyes of our forefathers, to see the slavery and bondage they were in, and how far they were gone from the unity of the Catholic Church, both in faith, in worship, and in government. To retrieve themselves many errors were made, and great endeavours used for a reformation. But none of those prevailing, they at last bethought themselves of casting off the Roman yoke, which by the assistance of the civil authority, not in a tumultuary, but in a regular way, was effected ; and when that was done, then upon mature deliberation they reform those other abuses, which were crept in among them. Whether this broke Catholic unity or no, let the world judge.

If this be a schism, we must own ourselves guilty of it ; but we see no reason to own it to be so yet, for in all this we have done nothing but what we are able to justify before all the world : for even our adversaries themselves will not deny, but that a National Church hath power in itself to reform abuses within itself. But it may be they will tell us, that we are not a Church, but a faction or party, made up of schismatics and heretics, broke loose from the Church. If this were true, we should have little to say for ourselves ; but a bare accusation is no proof. They may do well therefore to recollect themselves, and consider, that before Austin the monk set his foot in England, there was a Christian Church settled here under lawful governors, which Church opposed the proceeding of that proud monk, and denied obedience to the see of Rome, for which they severely suffered. If notwithstanding all this, our adversaries shall, as they frequently do, revive that old threadbare question, so often baffled, “Where was your Church before the Reformation ?” our answer is ready—it was where it is ; the same for substance now that it was then. It is indeed reformed and repaired, but not made new. There is not one stone of a new foundation laid by us ; the old walls stand still, only the overcasting of those ancient stones with the untempered mortar of new inventions displeased us, and that we washed off. What their own Durandus saith of material Churches, is very applicable to the spiritual. If the wall be decayed not at once, but successively, it is judged still the same Church ; and (upon reparation) not to be reconse-

erated, but only reconciled.* If therefore our Church be the same for substance now, that it was before the Reformation, then it is plain, that by our Reformation we made no separation from the Church, we only laid aside the corruptions, *i. e.* those unsound and unwholesome additions which the Church of Rome had made to the ancient structure of Christ's religion; and when those were removed, the Church which was by them obscured, appeared again in her primitive lustre and beauty. Now if the Church be the same still, it will necessarily follow that we who are of that Church, do now hold the same communion in all the substantials and essentials of religion, with all other Christian Churches, that we did before: for, as to all the essentials of a Church, we hold the same faith, the same worship, and the same government now, that we did before the Reformation, and which now is, and always hath been, owned by the Catholic Church in all ages. And if so, then can we not possibly be guilty of any schismatical separation.

2. Schism is a separation from a Christian Church, *i. e.*, from such a society, between which and us there is or ought to be a religious union and conjunction. That we cannot on that score be justly charged with any schismatical separation, either from the Catholic or any particular Christian Church, I hope is sufficiently made out in the 4th section of this discourse, to which I refer the reader, being unwilling either to give him or myself any unnecessary trouble.

3. Schism is a separation from the communion of a Christian Church, in faith, worship, and government, considered as bonds of communion. And here we are roundly charged by the Church of Rome, with a schismatical separation from her, and a manifest breach of all these great bonds of communion. But having, in the beginning of this section, I hope sufficiently vindicated the Church of England from any schismatical separation from the Catholic, or any other Christian Church, in her reformation, and cleared her innocency as to the breach of any of these great bonds of communion, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th sections, I shall not need to say any more of it here. There is only one thing which as yet I have taken no notice of, and with which they often twit us, viz. the derivation of our orders from them.

Mr. Harding, in his answer to Bishop Jewel's apology, doth mightily triumph in this, telling us that a Church cannot

* Durand. Ration. l. 1. [Antwerp, 1614, vol. i. p. 28. n. 30.]

subsist without lawful pastors and governors ; that there can be none such without lawful ordination by imposition of hands ; that we neither have, nor ever had any such but from the Church of Rome ; that those who received that power from her, becoming schismatics and heretics by their separation from her, forfeited that power, and could not convey it to others ; that therefore we have now no such thing as lawful priests and bishops among us, without which we cannot be a Church ; that herein we have broken the great bond of communion, viz. government, by departing from that Church, from which ours had its being, and therefore cannot be excused from the sin of schism. To this Bishop Jewel hath given a long, learned, and full answer, to which I shall refer the reader. He may find it in the second part of the Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, chap. 5, division 1. But to shew you in how empty and insignificant a show this mighty triumph ends, I shall here offer some few things to consideration.

1. That the conferring of orders giveth no power or jurisdiction to him or them, by whom they are conferred, over him or them on whom they are conferred. For, do we not know that the bishop of Rome is always consecrated by the bishop of Hostia ? and yet I hope they will not say that the bishop of Hostia is therefore above the bishop of Rome.

2. Let it be granted that we derive our orders from the Church of Rome, (not as from the fountain or original of orders, but as from the conduit or means of conveyance,) I would ask this question : Do they believe their orders to be good and valid, or not ? If not, why do they presume to exercise those high and holy functions to which they are admitted thereby ? If they do, then our orders must be good and valid too, and we have as good right as they have to that succession which they so much boast of.

3. That the bishops and pastors of the Church of England are true and rightful successors to those that have been before them, being elected, consecrated, confirmed, and admitted in as effectual a manner as they were. If their predecessors were deceived in any thing, they succeed them in place, but not in error. For though they were indeed their predecessors in office, yet were they not the rulers and standards of their faith. And it cannot be denied, but that a succession in faith and doctrine, is far more considerable than a succession of persons, and that (God be thanked) we are able to make good from the

pure and uncorrupted fountain. In doctrine therefore we succeed the Church of Rome, as the day succeedeth the night, as the light succeedeth darkness, and as truth succeedeth error.

4. That those bishops and pastors, who have been once duly elected, consecrated, confirmed, and admitted in and to those sacred functions, do not, by departing from the errors and superstitions of any other Church, (though it be that from which they received their orders,) lose the power that was thereby committed to them, but are still in a capacity to convey the same unto others.

5. That the bishops and pastors of the Church of England being legally possessed of, having duly exerted, and constantly and regularly exercised this power; the orders conferred by them by virtue thereof, are to all intents and purposes good and valid, and consequently our Church cannot be said to want true and lawful pastors and governors.

6. That though the Church of England, in her reformation, have cast off the usurpations, and laid aside the corruptions of the Church of Rome, yet hath she not thereby broken any bond of communion with the Christian Church, and therefore cannot justly be charged with the guilt of schism. For whilst she holds fast those three bonds of communion, viz. faith, worship, and government, in all the substantial and essential points thereof, the guilt of that horrid schism, which hath so much bruised and wounded, rent and torn the Church of God, can never be laid at her door.

These things I thought good to offer to consideration, and when they are seriously and deliberately weighed, I do no doubt, that the ingenuous reader will so far improve them, as to satisfy himself and others, that all this mighty triumph is no more than a vain and empty show.

4. Schism is a voluntary and causeless separation from the communion of the Christian Church, *i.e.*, when men have full liberty to make their own choice, having no force nor constraint put upon their inclinations, nor any cause or occasion given to justify their separation; then may they be truly said to act voluntarily, and without cause. And if this be our case, we must confess ourselves guilty of schism, but if not, then are we unjustly charged with it.

That our recession from the Church of Rome was not a voluntary act in us, but a necessity upon us, occasioned by force and violence constraint and compulsion, is plain and

evident. We did not attempt a separation, but only desired a reformation, that so we might walk together in the house of God as friends. If they would have hearkened to us, and removed those errors and abuses, those superstitions and corruptions, that tyranny and usurpation which they had introduced into the faith, worship, and government of Christ's Church, we had still peaceably continued in communion with them. But so far were they from hearkening to these our just desires, that instead thereof, we were menaced with fire and faggot, with imprisonment, with confiscation of our estates, with all kind of sufferings, and even death itself, if we refused to comply with their corruptions and innovations. And therefore we may truly say with the learned Casaubon, *Non fugimus, sed fugamur*,* we did not run away from them, but were driven away by them.

But yet, notwithstanding all this force and violence, if we had not sufficient cause to justify our recession, we must still be criminal ; for we are of opinion with Dionysius,† Alex., in his epistle to Novatus, that any thing must rather be borne, than that we should rend asunder the Church of God. But alas ! we had too great cause for what we did : the Church of Rome had corrupted the faith of God's Church with her unwarrantable additions and alterations : the primitive beauty and purity of God's worship she had defaced with superstitions : that goodly and well compacted structure of government, which had been erected and established in the Church of God, she had quite demolished ; and instead thereof, had erected an unheard of tyrannical Government, unknown to the primitive Church, and condemned by all other Churches, ever since it appeared in the world. In a word, she had made the terms of her communion such, as could not be complied with without sin ; and when it is sin to communicate, it cannot be sin to separate.

Thus much I hope may suffice to satisfy any indifferent and unprejudiced reader, that the recession of the Church of England from that of Rome, in her reformation, was neither owing to a dividing humour, nor without just cause : and therefore she is unjustly charged with the guilt of schism by the Church of Rome, upon that account.

5. Schism is a voluntary and causeless separation from the

* Casaub. ad Peron.

† Euseb. l. 6. c. 44. [p. 247. Par. 1659.]

communion of the Christian Church of which we are members, *i.e.*, which hath a jurisdiction over us, and to which we owe subjection and obedience. Schism imports a breach of unity, a dividing of that body which before was but one; it implies a casting off of a lawful jurisdiction, to which we were obliged to yield subjection and obedience. Now if we neither are, nor ever were of right subjects of that Church; if we neither are, nor ever were such parts of that body as to depend upon the head of it, then can we not justly be charged with breaking the unity of that Church, or dividing of that body, because that Church or that body doth still remain the same it was, notwithstanding our recession therefrom. And if it neither hath, nor ever had any lawful jurisdiction over us, then we neither do, nor ever did, owe any subjection or obedience thereunto; and therefore cannot, without great injustice, be charged with a schismatical separation therefrom.

To prove this negative would require a much longer discourse than is now designed; and therefore at present I shall only say, that this we insist upon: that the Church of England neither is, nor ever was by any divine authority bound to be in obedience to the Church of Rome. And whenever they please to make their claim, we are ready to defend ourselves against it. In the mean time, till they make this good, they have no reason to brand us (as hitherto they have unjustly done), with the odious names of schismatics and heretics.

Thus have I taken a review of the several parts of the definition, which (if it be allowed) will fairly acquit the Church of England from the guilt of schism. And now let us see, whether the Church of Rome can so well discharge herself of it.

SECT. XIII.

The Church of Rome guilty of that schism with which they charge the Church of England.

It is a rule generally allowed, that the cause makes the schism. If the Church gives cause of separation, there is the schism; if not, the cause of schism is in the separatist. So that where the cause is found, there the charge of schism resteth. If therefore the Church of Rome hath given just cause of separation from her, then is she causally guilty of that

schism ; and I am afraid will hardly be able to acquit herself from being so, of almost all other schisms in the Church.

Their ingenuous Cassander confesseth, that the Roman Church is not a little changed from her ancient beauty and brightness, and that she is deformed with many diseases and vicious distempers.* And being thus sick, St. Bernard undertakes to be her physician, and prescribes her a diet, which he tells us must be profitable though unpleasing, *i.e.*, she ought to be reproved, and a reformation required.† And if thereupon an offence be taken, the same St. Bernard shall acquaint you where the scandal will rest, when faults are taxed, and scandal grows thereupon.‡ He is the cause of the scandal, who did that which was worthy to be reproved, not he that reproved the ill-doer. And that the Church of Rome hath given occasion both to the reproof and scandal, let their own President in the Council of Trent inform you, who saith, that “the depravation and corruption of discipline and manners in the Church of Rome, was in a great measure the cause and original of all those schisms and heresies which then troubled the Church.”§

But that it may appear that I have a desire to deal fairly and friendly with them, I shall here present them with a copy of their charge, and give them time to plead to it. The charge was long since drawn up by two great men of our Church, namely, Bishop Hall and Bishop Bramhal, and never yet pleaded to that I know, much less cleared.

Bishop Hall, in a little book entitled “The Old Religion,” dedicated to his diocese of Exeter, chap. 4, lays down their charge in these five particulars :—

1. Nothing can be more plain, than that the Roman is a particular Church, as the Fathers of Basil well distinguish it, not the universal, though we take in the churches of her subordination or correspondence. This truth we might make good by authority, if our very senses did not save us the labour.

2. No particular Church (to say nothing of the universal since the Apostolic times) can have power to make a fundamental point of faith : it may explain or declare, it cannot create articles.

3. Only an error against a point of faith, is heresy.

* Cass. de Offic. boni veri, &c.

† Bern. de vita solit.

‡ Bern. ad Hug. de Sancto vict. Epist. 77. [Wrong reference.]

§ Orat. præf. Concil. Trident. Sess. 11. [Labbè Concil. vol. 14. col. 800. Par. 1672.]

4. Those points wherein we differ from Romanists are they, which only the Church of Rome hath made fundamental, and of faith.

5. The Reformed, therefore, being by that Church illegally condemned for those points, are not heretics.

This I take to be a fair discharge for the Church of England, from that foul aspersion which hath been cast upon her by the Church of Rome. But Bishop Bramhal chargeth them more home, and particularly in five articles more ; and lays the sin at their door.

1. The Church of Rome usurps an higher place and power in the body ecclesiastical, than of right is due unto her.

2. She separateth, both by her doctrines and censures, three parts of the Christian world from her communion, and, as much as in her lies, from the communion of Christ.

3. She rebelleth against General Councils.

4. She breaks, or takes away all the lines of Apostolical succession, except her own ; and appropriates all original jurisdiction to herself.

5. She challengeth a temporal power over princes, either directly or indirectly, which draws sedition and rebellion after it, and is no small aggravation of their schism.

These are the things we charge them with ; if they can truly plead not guilty thereunto, then are we criminal : but if they cannot ; if these things be really true, then are they causally guilty of that schism with which they would charge us ; and the whole weight, with all the dreadful consequences thereof, will lie at their doors, and be an heavy burthen upon them.

SECT. XIV.

The Conclusion.

That there is, and for a long time hath been a great and grievous schism in the Church, and that those who have been guilty of it, have miserably rent and torn, and have eaten out the bowels of their common mother : what considering person can be ignorant ? and who can know it without tears of pity, and prayers to God for the restoration of the Church's peace and unity ? This would much better become us, than disputing about it ; and this, I declare, should have been my province, had not the daily and loud clamours of the guilty

party so unjustly assaulted the Church of England, and forced me from my privacy, to undertake this necessary and just defence of my dear mother.

It hath for a long time been matter of debate, and a ball of contention, where the cause of the schism was to be found : the Church of Rome, with great confidence and assurance, hath laid it at the door of the Church of England ; and that Church, upon better grounds, hath charged the Church of Rome with it : I pray God open both their and our eyes, that we may all see and know the things that belong unto our peace ; that laying aside all rancour and animosity, we may at last join hearts and hands to promote truth and holiness, and study nothing more than to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

For my own part, I have so great an abhorrence for the sin of schism, that I do seriously profess, if I were convinced that the Church of England were guilty of the schism, I would rather choose to suffer anything elsewhere, than continue in it ; but, God be thanked, I am otherwise persuaded, and so well satisfied therein, that as I have lived, so I hope I shall die in the communion of that Church.

But alas ! perfect peace and unity are too great blessings to be hoped for in this sinful world ; they may be objects of our prayers, but hardly of our hopes. However, if we are what we pretend to be, *i. e.* humble and obedient Christians, it would well become us, in our several stations, to observe the Apostle's rule, which bids us, "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." Heb. xii. 14. Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us all perfect in all good works, to do his will, working in us that which is pleasant in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen. Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

A VINDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FROM
THE FOUL ASPERSIONS OF SCHISMS AND HERESY, UN-
JUSTLY CAST UPON HER BY THE CHURCH OF ROME.

PART II.

THE INTRODUCTION.

HERESY is a crime of so crimson a dye, so heinous in itself, and of so dangerous and destructive consequence both to the heretic himself, and to others, that without great, plain, and pregnant proof, to charge any Christian or society of Christians therewith, doth evidently betray a rash, censorious, malicious and unchristian temper in them that do it. I cannot but wonder, therefore, that the Church of Rome, upon so light and insufficient grounds, should be so liberal in bestowing this character upon the Church of England, and those of her communion. Ludovicus Vives,* one of their own men, did long since complain of this, saying, *Hæresis nomen rebus levissimis impingitur*, &c. The name of heresy is laid upon every light matter; so would the Scotists deal with the Thomists, if the custom of the schools had not made the name so familiar. It is a good caution, and worthy to be attended to, which Alphonsus de Castro,† another of their own doctors, gives in this case, *Idecirco fit*, &c. Therefore it happeneth that they who so rashly pronounce and call everything heresy, not considering what or whereof they speak, are often smitten with their own dart, and fall into the same pit which they themselves had digged for others. For this I should rather call heresy, to advance the writings of men unto the same degree of honour with the word of God; which they do, who think it altogether as impious to dissent from them, as from the Scriptures of God.

We freely confess with St. Austin, *Errare possumus*, we may mistake and be in an error; but we as fully resolve, with that holy Father, *Hæretici esse nolumus*, “we will never be guilty of heresy.” We have too great an abhorrence for it,

* De corrupt. artib.

† De Hæres. l. 1. c. 7. p. 79.

and are too well acquainted with the mischief of it, to run ourselves upon that rock. We are well satisfied how dangerous and destructive heresy is. It withdraws men from the way of truth, and makes them enemies and blasphemers of it :* it excludes men from the kingdom of God, and makes them become men of corrupt minds, and reprobate concerning the faith † Nor is only hurtful to those that are guilty of it, but to others also. For it doth grievously disturb and trouble the peace of God's Church, by stirring up strife, contention, emulation, and division among the members thereof. It seduceth unwary souls, and betrays them to their own ruin and destruction. It weakens the authority of holy Scriptures, and deprives men of the profit and advantage thereof, by perverting sometimes the sense, and sometimes the letter of those sacred writings. In a word, it makes the Christian religion to be evil spoken of among those who are without.

Bishop Jewel gives us a short but full description of it, when he tells us, "Heresy is a forsaking of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from the body and spirit of Christ."‡

These are our sentiments of the sin of heresy ; and if our adversaries can draw a character more black, we solemnly promise, and seriously declare, that so far as it is true, we are ready to join with them. And after all this, can any one suspect that we should be in love with heresy ?

But whether we be or no, it matters not, so long as the Church of Rome, which thinks herself infallible, is pleased to charge us therewith, to fix that title upon us, and as such to represent us to the world. How justly, or unjustly rather, this foul aspersion is cast upon us, will be inquired into in the following discourse, the design of the author therein being, to vindicate the Church of England therefrom ; which if he shall be so happy as to do, then will it appear that the Church of Rome was mightily mistaken in her censure, and that will be no small flaw in her infallibility ; but if, upon a fair and full debate, it shall plainly appear that they who so rashly pronounce and call us heretics, be themselves the guilty persons, then will it highly concern them (if they have any care of their souls) to consider how deeply they are wounded with their own dart ; and how low they are fallen into that pit which they had digged for us ; that so by a true and timely repentance they may rise again.

* Gal. v. 20, 21.

† 2 Tim. iii. 8.

‡ Defens. Apolog. &c. part. I. chap. 7. divis. 2 p. 43. [Oxford, 1848, vol. iv. p. 242.]

SECT. I.

Of Heresy.

In order to a right stating of the true and genuine notion of heresy, it will be requisite to consider both the importance of the name, and the nature of the thing.

The word heresy* is a Greek word, and admits of many, and those different significations, as Scapula informs us out of several authors. To reckon them all up, would waste too much time and paper, and conduce but little to the design in hand; I shall therefore only mention three.

1. I find it sometimes rendered conquering or subduing; thus it is used by Herodotus and Thucydides in whom we meet with these expressions. *Αἴρειν πόλιν*, to subdue a city, and *αἴρεσις πόλεως*, the taking of a city; and thus it is used by Greg. Naz.† *ὡς ἡμᾶς γε οὐχ αἱρήσεις*, thou shalt not overcome us.

2. It is sometimes rendered election or option, as appears by these expressions, *αἱρεῖθαι φίλους*, to make choice of friends, *αἱροῦμαι τὴν ὁδὸν*, I choose my way, *αἱρεῖθαι δικαστὴν*, to choose a judge, *περὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις τῆς πραγμάτων ἀμαρτάνοντες*, erring in the very choice of things, *αἱρεσίς στρατηγοῦ*, the election or creation of an emperor. And thus St. Hierom‡ useth it; where he saith, heresy, in Greek, *αἱρεσίς*, which signifies election, because every one chooseth to himself that discipline which he thinks best.

3. Sometimes it denotes a sect or sort of men, who having espoused an opinion different from the received opinion of all others, do tenaciously hold the same. Thus is the word usually taken by philosophers and divines, Galen meeting with some of his own profession, who, both in their opinions and practice, differed from him, and the whole body of physicians at that time, yet used some method, and did not altogether swerve from the rules of art, calls it *μεθόδικὴ αἱρεσίς*, a methodical heresy. And finding others who observed no method,

* *Αἱρεσίς*, ab *Αἴρεω*, vel *Αἱρέομαι*.

† In Epit. Basilii. [vol. ii. p. 153. Par. 1630.]

‡ In Epist. ad Galat. [vol. vii. col. 507. Veron. 1737.]

nor pretended to understand the reason of things, or the natural causes of distempers, but practised by some receipts which they had got, and which by use and experience they had found in some cases to be very advantageous, and therefore boldly, though blindly, went on in so doing ; this he calls ἐμπειρικὴ αἵρεσις, an empirical heresy, or the heresy of quacks and empirics in that profession. And in this sense we find the word used by ecclesiastical writers, who by heresy do generally understand an opinion which is not agreeable to the orthodox faith ; and whosoever doth espouse such an opinion, boldly teaching and obstinately defending the same, is by them always reputed an heretic.

Thus have I shewn you the importance of the word, and in what sense it is used by ecclesiastical writers ; and now I come to consider the nature of the thing imported thereby ; which we may partly learn from such as have written upon that subject, but best from the Holy Scriptures. When men entertain opinions contrary to those which the Catholic Church holds and belieyes, “that is heresy,” saith St. Augustine.*

And whosoever, for the sake of any temporal profit, and especially for the advancement of his own glory and grandeur, doth forge and follow false and new opinions, he is an heretic,† saith the same holy father.

And whosoever doth obstinately defend that new error which he hath embraced‡ he is an heretic.

Heresy is a kind of infidelity belonging to them who profess the faith of Christ, and corrupt the doctrines thereof,§ saith their angelical doctor.

Heresy is conversant about those things which are of faith, viz. the articles of faith, and such things as follow upon them, and consists in an obstinate dissent therefrom,|| saith the same doctor.

He that obstinately believes what is contrary to the holy Catholic faith,¶ is an heretic, if he be baptized, saith their Navar. doctor.

Whosoever, neglecting the authority of the Church, doth de-

* Aug. contra Faust.

† Aug. de Definit.

‡ Idem, ibid.

§ Th. Aq. 2da 2dæ q. ii. art. 1. c. [Venice, 1787, vol. xxii. p. 54.]

Hæresis est infidelitates species pertinens ad eos qui fidem Christi profitentur sed ejus dogmata corrumpunt.] || Idem, ibid. art. 2. c.

¶ In Enchirid. c. ii. p. 141. n. 2.

fend wicked opinions with a wilful and obstinate mind, is to be called an heretic,* saith the Trent Catechism.

And what we are to understand by the name of church, the same catechism afterwards informs us, and quotes St. Augustine in Ps. xlix. for it, telling us, that by church we are to understand the faithful people dispersed through the world.†

Though none of these will perhaps pass for an exact definition, if examined according to the strict rules thereof; nor, it may be, were ever intended as such; (for as for St. Augustine,‡ he freely confesseth, that to express by a regular definition what heresy is, or what thing it is that makes an heretic, in his judgment, is either impossible, or very difficult) yet may they pass for good descriptions, whence we may learn what notion they had of heresy in those days, and what it was that, in their judgment, did make a man an heretic.

From St. Augustine we may learn, that there are three things necessary to make up an heresy.

1. To believe such things as are not believed by the Catholic Church.

2. To broach those false and new opinions, and thereby endeavour to make a party for some secular advantage; especially for the sake of one's own glory and grandeur.

3. To defend those false and new opinions with obstinacy.

From their own angelical doctor we may learn, that there are four things necessary to make a man an heretic.

1. He must be one that professeth the true faith.

2. He must corrupt the doctrines of that faith.

3. He must dissent from some known established article of the faith.

4. His dissent must be maintained with obstinacy.

From their Navar. doctor we may learn, that there are three things necessary to make an heretic.

1. He must be one that is baptised, *i. e.* admitted into the membership of Christ's Church, and who, by himself or others, or both, hath made profession of the holy Catholic faith.

2. He must be one that hath embraced some false and new opinions, which are contrary to that holy Catholic faith.

3. He must be one that doth believe and maintain those false and new opinions with obstinacy.

* Catech ad Parochos, part. i. in expos. art. 9. Symbol. p. 76. [Lips. 1843.] † Ibid. [p. 77.]

‡ Aug. ad. Quodvultdeum. Epist. i. [vol. ii. col. 1065. Bassan. 1797.]

From their Trent Catechism we may learn who may properly be called an heretic.

1. He must be one that doth neglect and despise the authority of the Church.

2. The authority which is neglected or despised by him, must be the authority of the Catholic Church diffusive, *Ecclesia est populus fidelis per universum orbem dispersus*, are the words of that Catechism, quoted out of St. Augustine in Psalm xl ix.

3. He must be one that holdeth and defendeth wicked opinions, in despite and defiance of that authority.

4. He must hold and defend those wicked opinions with a wilful and obstinate mind.

Thus far may we learn the nature of heresy from these authorities, which are such, as I suppose, our adversaries will not disown; and if upon any of these severally, or all of them jointly, they think fit to implead us, we are ready to join issue with them; and if by any of these, they can make it appear that we are guilty, we do solemnly promise, that, by God's grace assisting us, we will repent and amend; and I would willingly hope that they would be so ingenuous on their parts, as to do the same.

But before we proceed any farther, let us see what is more to be learned of the nature of heresy out of the holy Scriptures.

St. Paul, writing to the Church of Corinth, tells them, "that there must be heresies among them, that they which are approved, may be made manifest."* The rise of which heresies is intimated in the verse immediately preceding; where he saith, "For first of all, when ye come together in the Church, I hear that there are dissensions among you," &c. Dissension is the first and greatest evil, being the source and original of all others; for from thence proceed strifes, debates, envyings, evil-speaking, and all manner of contention; by means whereof, the unity of the Church is broken, her peace disturbed, and her members crumbled into parties and factions. Then doth every party set up for itself, and for the sake of its own glory and granduer, endeavours to enlarge its bounds, by alluring others to join with it. This it can never hope effectually to accomplish, without having something new to present them with; and therefore all heads are at work to forge and

* 1 Cor. xi. 19.

foment some new and plausible, though false opinion, which being once broached must obstinately be defended ; and so commenceth heresy.

Thus we see the rise and original of heresy, the dangerous and destructive consequence whereof, the same Apostle acquaints us with ; who, in his Epistle to the Church of Galatia, reckoneth heresies among the works of the flesh, and tells us, “that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.”* And on this account is it, that St. Peter gives them that dreadful epithet, calling them damnable heresies : for, saith he, “There were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction.”† From this text it is plain that the introducers of heresy, and the ringleaders of heretics, are false teachers ; and these false teachers, in the time of the Gospel, are compared to false prophets in the time of the law. To know therefore, and rightly understand, who those false prophets were, and what they did to deserve that title, may possibly afford us some light by which to discover those false teachers, who privily bring in these damnable heresies ; and not only so, but in some measure also acquaint us with the nature of those crimes.

He who by signs and lying wonders sought to turn away the people from the way which the Lord their God had commanded them to walk in, or persuade them to pay their religious service and worship to any other being, but only the true God,‡ was thereby known to be a false prophet, not to be attended to, but severely punished.

Whosoever shall presume to speak a word in the name of God, which God hath not commanded him to speak, or shall speak in the name of other gods,§ the same is a false prophet, and by the sentence of Almighty God adjudged to death.

Those who come unto you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.|| Who speak lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with an hot iron.¶ Who have a form of godliness, but deny the power therof:** they are false prophets, and to be rejected by us.

* Gal. v. 19, 20, 21.

† 2 Pet. ii. 1.

‡ Deut. xiii. 1, 2, &c.

§ Deut. xviii. 20.

|| Matt. vii. 15.

¶ 1 Tim. iv. 2.

** 2 Tim. iii. 5.

Those who cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, they serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the simple.* These are false prophets and false teachers, and ought to be marked and avoided by us.

Thus have I given you a short character of false prophets out of the Holy Scriptures, to whom St. Peter compares false teachers in the time of the Gospel: and by this you may easily discern them; for if you find any at this day so teaching and so doing, as they then taught and did, you ought to mark them for false teachers, and such whose business it is to deceive you, and privily bring in damnable heresies.

But there is one place of Scripture more, in which we have a more particular account of the nature of heresy, and from which we may more plainly learn what it is that makes an heretic. And that is in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, where he gives him this direction: "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject: knowing that he that is such, is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself."†

In this place St. Paul directs Titus, and not only him, but all the governors of the Church, how to deal with heretics; and instructs both them and us, what heresy is, and what it is that makes an heretic.

Heretics are to be dealt with in this manner, 1. They are to be admonished, *i. e.* they are by the governors of the Church, to be warned to forsake that or those errors which they have espoused. For that they are in an error is implied, otherwise there would be no occasion for an admonition. 2. That admonition is to be repeated, *i. e.* they are to be admonished a first and second time. 3. If they continue obstinate after the first and second admonition, they are to be rejected; *i. e.* the censure of the Church is to pass upon them, and they are thereby to be cast out of the society of Christians and avoided, lest others should be infected by them.

What heresy is, or what it is that makes an heretic, he likewise teacheth us, when he describes the heretical man he here speaks of: 1. A man that is an heretic is one that is subverted,‡ *i. e.* one that is gone astray, who hath turned aside from the right path, forsaken and corrupted the true faith. Thus their own§ Lyra understands it, saying, a man that is an heretic is one, who having received the Catholic

* Rom. xvi. 17, 18.

† Tit. iii. 10, 11.

‡ Ἐξέστραπται.

§ Lyra in Loc. [1473. vol. 4.]

faith, doth afterwards corrupt it. And with him the ordinary gloss agreeth, telling us* he is an heretic who, by the words of the law, opposeth the law itself; and puts his own sense thereupon, that by the authority thereof, he may strengthen himself in the naughtiness of his own mind. 2. A man that is an heretic is one that sinneth, *i. e.* one that sinneth knowingly, the Int. Gl. or as the† word imports, one who is fallen from the way of truth, and hath embraced the way of error, violently opposing the one, and as obstinately defending the other. 3. A man that is an heretic is one that is condemned of himself. For that faith which he once received and owned as true, he now opposeth and condemneth as false,‡ saith Lyra, in Loc. Or because he condemneth error and reproacheth truth, saith Gl. Ord.

Having thus considered both the importance of the word, and the nature of the thing I am treating of, I shall now adventure to lay down this short, but full and comprehensive definition of it.

Heresy is an error in the foundation of religion, openly taught, and obstinately defended.

I call heresy an error in religion, to distinguish it from philosophical errors; for those, according to the strict ecclesiastical notion of the word, cannot fall under that head. As also to difference it from schism; for though schism be an error, yet it is not properly an error in the faith: it concerns not the doctrine, but discipline of the Church, *i. e.* manners, order, and government. I call it an error in the foundation of religion, to distinguish it from errors in the less considerable parts of religion: for in speculative points, such as are matters of controversy, or mere school niceties, relating to times or places, or other circumstances of religion, not being plainly delivered in the word of God, nor can be proved thereby, men may safely differ in their opinions, without incurring the guilt of heresy. I say, this error must be openly taught, because, though men may be heretics by espousing some fundamental error, and tenaciously holding the same: yet so long as they keep their opinion to themselves, and do not endeavour to infect others therewith, they are no heretics in the eye of the Church. The Church can take no cognizance of their thoughts, nor pass any judgment upon them. In this case they stand accountable only to God and their own con-

* Gl. Ord. apud. Lyr.

† Ἀμαρτάνει.

‡ Αυτοκατάκειτος.

sciences. Lastly, I say, that this error must be defended with obstinacy, to distinguish it from bare error. For though a man be, as all men are subject to be, in an error, yet if he be willing to be instructed, and upon better information to relinquish his error, he cannot be said to be an heretic.

Having thus stated the notion of heresy, I shall now proceed to consider how far it is applicable to the Church of England; and for this purpose I shall take the definition in pieces, and consider each part severally.

1. Heresy is an error in religion.
2. It is an error in the foundation of religion.
3. This fundamental error must be openly taught.
4. It must be obstinately maintained.

SECT. II.

1. Heresy is an error in religion.

That every heresy is an error, and an error in religion, will be owned by all; but that every error, or every error in religion, is heresy, must not be granted; for error and heresy are not terms convertible. It will be necessary therefore to explain this part of the definition, *i. e.* to see what it is we stand charged with, before we go about to discharge ourselves of it.

By religion here, I understand that faith which was once delivered to the saints,* and for the maintenance of which we are commanded earnestly to contend; or that common Christianity which we have received from Christ and his Apostles, which we all do, or ought to profess and defend. And by error here, I understand an opinion which is contrary to, or at least not agreeable with that faith and common Christianity. Every error supposeth a rule, and an aberration from that rule; for what is error but a wandering out of the right way, mistaking one thing for another, esteeming that false which is really true, or that true which is really false? Heresy therefore being an error in religion, must be a going astray from that rule which the Author of our religion hath given us to walk by. Now who is the Author of our religion but he who is styled the Author and Finisher of our faith,† viz. Jesus Christ, the Righteous? And what standing rule

* Jude 3.

† Heb. xii. 2.

hath he left us to go by, but only the holy Scriptures ? These, we are told, "are able to make us wise unto salvation, and to make the man of God perfect."* And what can we desire more ? Heresy, therefore, must be such an error in religion, as is against the truth of God's word, being neither contained therein, nor to be proved thereby. And whosoever is guilty of such an error, and proceedeth openly to teach, and obstinately to defend the same, the whole guilt of heresy, and all the mischievous consequences thereof, will lie at his door.

And now let us see how far this first part of the definition doth affect the Church of England : doth she not embrace the faith which was once delivered to the saints ? Is it not that which she doth so earnestly contend for ? Doth she not profess that common Christianity which she hath received from Christ and his Apostles ? Doth she not own Jesus Christ to be the author and finisher of her faith ? and the holy Scripture to be the rule of her religion ? Doth she teach any doctrine that is not agreeable to the word of God ? or profess any error that is contrary to the truth thereof ? If she do, let her adversaries implead her ; and if she cannot defend herself, she will be so far from being obstinate, that she will readily own her fault, and by God's assisting grace, repent and reform. But if they cannot justly charge her with any of these things, let them for shame forbear their ungrounded clamour against her, as an heretical Church.

The innocence of the Church of England in this point will manifestly appear, if we consider what she doth publicly profess, and teach her children to believe, in her articles of religion.

1. She doth declare her belief, that the holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation.†

2. That whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

3. That the three Creeds, viz. the Nicene,‡ the Athanasian, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed, because they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

And after such a declaration as this, with what face can the

* John v. 39 ; 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15, 16, 17.

† Art. 6.

‡ Art. 8.

Church of Rome charge her with the guilt of heresy? The Church of England indeed is so modest, as not to challenge to herself an infallibility, as that of Rome unwarrantably doth. She is willing to acknowledge that she may err; but she as firmly resolves, that she will never be obstinate in an error, and therefore cannot be justly burdened with the guilt of heresy.

SECT. III.

II.—*Heresy is an error in the foundation of religion.*

The Church of God is said “to be built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.”* Where, by the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, St. Paul means (as their own Lyra informs us) the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets; the one foretelling, and the other preaching Christ Jesus.† And the same Apostle tells us, that, “as a wise master-builder he had laid the foundation,‡ i.e., (saith Lyra) the faith of Christ, and none other; “which faith worketh by love.” And in another place he saith, “The foundation of God stands sure,” i.e., saith Lyra, *Fides resurrectionis*, “the faith or doctrine of the resurrection.”§ These Scriptures will help to explain what we mean by the foundation of religion in this part of the definition, viz., some principal and fundamental point or points of faith; or, as their own angelical doctor styles them, some article or articles of faith, or some doctrines which necessarily follow therefrom.|| And by an error in this foundation, I understand not only a dissenting therefrom, but also a making of something to be religion or an article of faith, which really is not so. And whether we be guilty of such an error, I leave to the impartial reader to judge, when he hath carefully perused these papers.

That the Church of England is not guilty of any such error, methinks is very plain: for, she doth publicly declare,¶ that whatsoever is not read in the holy Scriptures, (which contain

* Eph. ii. 20.

† Lyr. in loc. [1473. vol. 4.]

‡ 1 Cor. iii. 10.

§ 2 Tim. ii. 19.

|| Th. Aq. 2da 2dæ qu 11. art. 2. c [Venice, 1787. vol 22. p. 54.]

¶ Art. 6.

the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets, and the faith, or common Christianity, which was once delivered to the saints,) nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. She also receiveth the three ancient* Creeds, and teacheth her children to receive and believe every article therein. And whilst she doth this, with what colour can the Church of Rome brand her with heresy, or charge her with an error in the foundation of religion ? A general charge, without any particular instances, will not do ; to such an one this general answer may suffice ; and when our adversaries think fit to descend to particulars, they may be further considered.

SECT. IV.

III.—*This fundamental error must be openly taught.*

The Church cannot, and therefore doth not pretend to take cognizance of the thoughts of men's hearts ; that is the sole prerogative of Almighty God, who is the searcher of hearts and trier of reins. By the law of God, a false prophet, or dreamer of dreams, was to be slain ; but then he must be such an one as had endeavoured thereby to seduce the people from the worship of the true God, Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3, &c. And our Saviour tells us of some, who should be called the least in the kingdom of heaven, *i.e.*, should have no place in the Church, but be cast out of it as rotten and unsound members : and that we may not be ignorant what sort of men these are, he describes them to us, telling us they are those who break his commandments, and teach men so, Matt. v. 19. And St. Peter tells us of some, who "should privily bring in damnable heresies," and these he calls "false teachers." 2 Pet. ii. 1. And St. Paul tells us of some who caused divisions and offences in the Church, whom he warns us to avoid ; but how shall we shun them, unless we know them? He therefore gives us their character, telling us, they are such as "by good words and fair speeches deceive the simple," Rom. xvi. 17, 18. These instances may sufficiently justify this expression, and shew you that it is not without cause that I have given it a place in the definition of

* Art. 8.

heresy. For, though a man have not only a kindness for some heretical opinions or fundamental errors, but do heartily espouse and embrace them, yet so long as he keeps all this locked up in the cabinet of his own breast, he is not censurable for it ; nor can any one, without great rashness, pronounce him an heretic ; for, not to be, and not to appear, *in fero Ecclesiæ*, are the same. Heresy, then, which is so great and heinous a crime, an error so mischievous to the Church of God, and of so dangerous consequence to the heretic himself, ought certainly to be very well proved, and made mighty clear and manifest, before it be charged upon any man, or any society of men who profess Christianity : for though every heresy be an error, yet every error is not an heresy. It must be an error in religion, and in the foundation of religion too, and that fundamental error must be divulged and openly taught, *i.e.*, there must be an endeavour to instil the poison of it into others, thereby to seduce and withdraw them from fundamental truth and holiness ; and all this must be owned stoutly, and maintained obstinately before it can merit the name of heresy.

Till therefore the Church of Rome, by plain and undeniable arguments, hath proved all this particularly upon the Church of England, she cannot, without great rashness and presumption, charge her with it. A general imputation, without particular proofs, will amount to no more than a malicious scandal, which will betray a great want of true Christian charity in them, and the weight thereof will at last fall heavy upon their own heads. For, as one of their own doctors saith,* those that so rashly pronounce and call every thing heresy, not considering whereof they speak, are often stricken with their own dart, and fall into the same pit that they themselves had digged for others.

So far is the Church of England from openly teaching any fundamental error in religion, that she neither is, nor can be proved guilty of any such, as is made appear in the preceding section. She teacheth nothing but the pure word of God, nor receiveth anything as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation, but what is contained in holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby, and therefore cannot be justly charged with the guilt of heresy upon this account.

* Alphonsus de Castro, de Hær. l. 1. c. 7. p. 79.

SECT. V.

IV. This fundamental error must be obstinately defended and maintained.

This is the last part of the definition, and that which gives spirit and life to all the rest ; for though we should be guilty of error, and of error in religion, yea, though that error should be a fundamental one, and openly taught by us, yet if we be not obstinate therein, but upon fair and full conviction are willing to reform our judgments, and relinquish the same, we cannot be justly burdened with the guilt of heresy.

Such is the modesty of the Church of England, that she doth not believe, much less boast herself to be infallible, as the Church of Rome unwarrantably doth. As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so she or any other particular Church may err ; but such is her piety and humility, that she is very desirous of, and always ready to receive better information, and thereupon to reform and amend her errors. She is, and ever hath been willing to submit all her doctrines to be tried by the touchstone of God's word, by the primitive doctors and pastors of Christ's Church, and by the four first General Councils ; and therefore, without great injustice, cannot be thought to be obstinate or contumacious.

To make a fundamental error become heresy, two things, you see, are required.

1. That fundamental error must be defended.
2. It must be defended with obstinacy.

SECT. VI.

I. Of defending a fundamental error.

To be guilty of a fundamental error in religion, is a great and dangerous crime ; but to persist in it, and undertake the defence of it, renders it yet greater and more dangerous ; for religion is that, upon the due observance of which depends all our happiness here, and all our hopes of happiness hereafter ; and therefore to mistake therein, is like an error in war, which is hard to be retrieved : but to go on in so doing, and set our wits upon the rack to invent arguments to maintain it, is to form weapons

against ourselves, with which to batter down all the hopes of future felicity. Yet even this may admit of some alleviation ; for if those who embrace those errors be fully persuaded that they are that faith which was once delivered to the saints, then are they obliged earnestly to contend for them ; or in the defence thereof, they do not contend so much for victory as for truth, being ready, upon better information, to relinquish them ; or if, by the misfortune of an ill education or otherwise, they be prepossessed therewith, and only hold them till they are better instructed, not being averse to hearken thereunto, such an error, or such a defence of it, will not amount to heresy.

But, God be thanked, the Church of England hath no need of any excuse in this case, for she receiveth nothing as an article of faith but what is contained in holy Scripture, nor defends any doctrine but such as may be proved thereby ; and therefore it is a manifest injury and malicious scandal in those who charge her with the defence of any fundamental error in religion. It is true, she contends earnestly, but it is for the faith which was once delivered to the saints. She strenuously defends the religion which she professeth, but it is because she hath received it from Christ and his Apostles, and because it is well warranted by the word of God : and if this be heresy, then is she guilty of it ; if not, then is she unjustly charged with it by the Church of Rome.

SECT. VII.

II. *Of defending a fundamental error with obstinacy.*

How dangerous it is to espouse a fundamental error in religion, and how much more dangerous it is to engage in the defence and maintenance of such an error, I have already told you ; but if that defence be managed with stubbornness and obstinacy, it renders the matter not only more dangerous, but very desperate. “ Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit ? there is more hope of a fool than of him,” saith the wise Solomon.* If a fool offend, it is usually out of ignorance, but the sin of the other commonly proceeds from malice ; a fool sometimes will be counselled, but he that is wise in his own conceit, shutteth both his eyes and his ears against all advice and instruction. And of such St. Hilary saith well, “ They (*i.e.*

* Prov. xxvi. 12.

fools) forasmuch as they know not the truth, may have their salvation in safety, if afterward they believe; but all hope of salvation is shut from thee, (*i. e.* who art wise in thy own conceit) because thou deniest that thing which thou canst not choose but know.”* This is the case of him who obstinately defends a fundamental error in religion, and it is this stubbornness and obstinacy that doth complete and perfect his heresy, and by reason whereof, he is justly styled an heretic. But to make a man so obstinate as to deserve this title, two things are to be supposed, viz. admonition and conviction. 1. That he hath been admonished, and that more than once, of the evil of his way, of the danger of it, and of the necessity of leaving it. 2. That he is convinced in his own mind of all this: these two are expressly contained in that direction and advice which St. Paul gives to his son Titus: “A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted (or perverted) and sinneth, being condemned of himself.” Tit. iii. 10, 11. Seeing therefore these two are so necessary to complete the character of an heretic, it may not be amiss to take a view of them severally, before we apply the character.

SECT. VIII.

Of obstinacy in error against admonition.

That men in error ought to be admonished will be owned by all, and that in case of heresy the admonition is to be repeated is plainly intimated by St. Paul, in his advice to his son Titus, already quoted. And in what manner, and by whom this admonition is to be given, our Saviour’s rule, in the case of trespasses and offences between brethren, will very fully instruct us, which is this: “If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother: but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more; that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the Church; and if he refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen, and a publican.”† Where we may observe, that our Saviour

* Hilar. de Trin. 1. 6. [vol. 1. p. 179. Wirceb. 1785.]

† Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17.

speaks of a twofold admonition, viz. one that is to be given in private, and in a brotherly and friendly manner ; and another that is to be given in public, by those who had jurisdiction over the offending person, and are vested with power and authority to censure him. Now let us apply this to the case in hand. If thy brother offend by embracing and tenaciously holding some fundamental error in religion, and this come to thy knowledge, it will be a charitable work in thee if, in a brotherly and friendly manner, thou dost privately admonish him between thee and him alone ; if thou beest successful therein, thou hast done a good work, thou hast gained thy brother : but if this will not do, thou must not leave it so, but take others with thee, and admonish him before them. Thus far may a private person interest himself in admonishing another, who is fallen into, or in danger of falling into heresy ; and if the person admonished continue obstinate against such admonition, he doth by that stubbornness very much add to his crime, and incur the guilt of heresy ; yet, properly speaking, he cannot truly be called an heretic in the eye of the Church, because she hath not yet taken cognizance thereof. And therefore it follows, if he refuse to hear them, tell it to the Church, *i. e.* bring the cause before them, who have a jurisdiction over him, and sufficient power and authority to censure and punish him. And being once and again admonished by the Church, if he still remain contumacious, then let him be rejected, saith St. Paul ; or as our Saviour here, “let him be unto thee as an heathen and publican,” *i. e.* let him, by excommunication, be cast out of the Church, and counted unworthy the society of Christian men.

This is the method in which we ought to proceed against heretics ; they must be admonished, and that admonition must be repeated, and they must be obstinate against that admonition before we ought to censure them. But it is not a private, but public, not only a friendly, but authoritative admonition, and stubbornness against that, which will truly denominate a man, or any society of men, to be heretics ; for heresy is an opinion contrary to that of the Catholic Church, saith St. Augustine.* And whosoever doth obstinately believe that which is contrary to the holy Catholic faith, is an heretic, if he be baptized, saith their Navar.† Doctor. And whosoever, despising the authority of the Church, doth obstinately defend wicked opinions, he is to be called an heretic,‡ saith their Trent Catechism.

* Aug. cont. Faustum.

† In Enchirid. c. 11. p. 141. n. 2.

‡ Part. 1. in. expos. art. 9. Symbol. p. 76. [Lips. 1843.]

Now if the Church of Rome can prove, that the Church of England hath espoused, and publicly taught any fundamental error in religion, and hath been thus regularly dealt withal, and duly admonished by those who had authority to do so, and yet continued obstinate in her error against such admonition ; then is she guilty, otherwise not. But this I shall have occasion to consider more particularly hereafter, and therefore at present I shall proceed.

SECT. IX.

Of obstinacy in error against conviction.

An heretic is one that is not only subverted or perverted, but self-condemned,* saith St. Paul ; *i. e.* one who having once received and owned the true faith, doth now oppose and condemn it as false, saith their own Lyra in loc. ; or one who commendeth error, and reproacheth truth, saith the Ord. Gl. ; who, like those who accused the woman taken in adultery before our Saviour,† is convicted by his own conscience, *i. e.* who is conscious to himself of the evil of his own doings. Self-condemnation always supposeth conviction ; an heretic, therefore, being one that is self-condemned, must also be convinced of the error of his way ; and one who, notwithstanding that conviction, still remains stubborn and obstinate therein, *i. e.* who resists the repeated admonition of the Church : for, if a man labour under an invincible ignorance, and be thereby betrayed into some dangerous error, or, by the misfortune of an ill education, have his judgment perverted and prepossessed with wrong notions and sentiments of things, his case is truly pitiable ; and it would be very hard and injurious to burden him with the guilt of heresy. But if such an one being admonished of the evil of his way, shall happen to be convinced of his error, and yet, after such admonition and conviction, contumaciously continue therein, he will have no plea left to excuse him from the guilt thereof. By the old law, if a man sinned through ignorance, there was an atonement provided for him ; but if he sinned presumptuously, there was no atonement for him, but he was to be cut off from among the people.‡ This was St. Paul's case in the time of the Gospel ;

* Tit. iii. 11. Αυτοκατάκριτος.

† John viii. 9.

‡ Numb. xv. 24, 25, 26, 27, &c.

for he himself tells us, that he was a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and an oppresser, but he obtained mercy, because he did it ignorantly through unbelief.* But if after he was converted, he had been guilty of these crimes, his plea of ignorance and unbelief would then have been out of doors, and his case would have been very dangerous: for it is impossible, that those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come: if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.†

These instances do plainly discover to us, that before conviction, though men be in error, yea, though it be a dangerous and fundamental error, and industriously propagated by them, yet may their case be pitiable: but when they are better informed, or at least have means sufficient for their better information; if after this they still remain stubborn and contumacious in their error, and persist in the defence and propagation thereof; this their obstinacy will alter the nature of their crime, and render their condition very dangerous, if not desperate. “For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things; but if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God,”‡ saith the Apostle John. And happy is he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth,§ saith St. Paul.

SECT. X.

The Church of England acquitted from the guilt of heresy.

This notion of heresy, which hath been laid down and explained in the foregoing sections, being not only ours but theirs also; being supported by so great and eminent authorities, as that of St. Augustine, of their own angelical doctor and canonized saint, St. Thomas Aquinas, of their great Martin Navarrus, and of the most authentic authority of their own Church at this day, the Council of Trent in their Catechism *ad Parochos*: our adversaries can have no colourable pretence to except against it. And if it be admitted, we are ready to

* 1 Tim. i. 13.

‡ 1 John iii. 20, 21.

† Heb. vi. 4.

§ Rom. xiv. 22.

join issue with them, and contented to stand or fall by it. The point in difference between us is briefly this : “ whether the guilt of heresy, according to this notion, be justly or unjustly charged upon the Church of England by the Church of Rome ? ” To acquit the Church of England is my task at present ; in order whereunto, I shall take a review of what hath been said, and as briefly as may be, apply it to our present case.

1. If it cannot be proved that the Church of England doth receive, believe, or teach any other doctrine than what hath been received, believed, and taught by the Catholic Church ; nor broach any new opinions, thereby to divide the Church for any secular advantage to herself, nor obstinately defend any false opinions : then by St. Austin’s rule before quoted, she cannot be justly charged with heresy : but none of all this ever was, or can be proved against her : and, therefore, according to this rule, she is unjustly taxed with heresy by the Church of Rome.

2. If it cannot be made appear, that the Church of England doth corrupt the faith which was once delivered to the saints, nor teach any doctrine contrary thereunto, nor dissent from any known established article thereof, nor obstinately maintain any such dissent therefrom : then, by the rule of their own angelical doctor, she ought not to be charged with heresy : but none of all this ever was or can be made appear against her : therefore, by this rule, she ought not to be charged with heresy by the Church of Rome.

3. If it cannot be made manifest by any public act or record owned as authentic by the Church of England, that she hath renounced or forsaken that faith into which she was baptized, and of which she once made profession ; nor embraced any false and new opinions which are contrary thereunto ; nor doth obstinately believe and maintain any such new and false opinions : then, by the rule of their Navar. doctor, she cannot be justly charged with the guilt of heresy : but none of all this ever was, or can be made manifest against her : therefore, by this rule, she is unjustly charged with the guilt of heresy by the Church of Rome.

4. If it cannot be proved that the Church of England either doth, or ever did neglect and despise the authority of the holy Catholic Church ; or doth embrace and hold any wicked opinions in despite and defiance of that authority, or with a wilful and obstinate mind, defend and maintain any such

wicked opinions : then, by the judgment of the Council of Trent, in their Catechism *ad Parochos*, she ought not be held guilty of heresy : but none of all this ever was, or can be proved against her : therefore, by the judgment of that Council, she ought not to be held guilty of heresy.

5. If there be not pregnant proof, that the Church of England hath embraced some opinions which are contrary to, or at least not agreeable with that faith and common Christianity, which was taught by Christ and his Apostles ; or hath laid a new foundation, *i. e.* made something to be religion, and an article of faith, which really is not so, being not built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets ; or doth openly teach any fundamental errors in religion, thereby to seduce and withdraw people from fundamental truth and holiness ; or doth stubbornly maintain and defend a fundamental error in religion against repeated admonitions and clear convictions : then can she not, if this notion of heresy be true, be justly burdened with the guilt thereof : but there is not, nor indeed can be any pregnant proof of anything of all this against her : therefore, according to this notion of heresy, she cannot be justly charged with the guilt thereof.

I am well aware that the minor proposition in all these will stiffly be denied by our adversaries ; they will, with great boldness and confidence, tell the world, that all this and more, hath been and still may be proved against the Church of England : but, God be thanked, though this may soon be said, it can never be proved. That they frequently call us heretics, and both do and have all along endeavoured to represent us as such to the world, we very well know ; and if they were allowed to be judges, it would go very hard with us, we should not be able to acquit ourselves at their bar. But this we think to be a very unreasonable thing, that they, being parties, would be judges too ; and therefore we appeal from them. And if they ask, whither we do appeal ? I answer, we appeal to the holy Scriptures, to the primitive Fathers, and to the four first General Councils. But because this may seem to be either too tedious, or too troublesome a way of trial, I have made choice of one more short and easy ; I have here laid down a notion of heresy, which is agreed upon both by them and us, and therefore unexceptionable : by this we are willing to be tried, and by this to stand or fall.

I do not say, in any of these propositions, that they never charged us with any of these things, for that I very well know

they both do and have done ; but I do say, that they neither have, nor ever can prove any of these things against us. And here now were a fit opportunity to examine the particulars of their charge, and the validity of them ; but before I do that, it will be requisite to make good our own ground, and by giving you some account of these propositions that either are or will be denied, to make it appear that they are not the issue of a rash and inconsiderate zeal, but the offspring of deliberate and well digested thoughts. And though it be contrary to the laws and rules of disputation, to put one upon proving a negative, and therefore I need not do it ; yet for once, and to gratify our adversaries, I will endeavour to do a work of supererogation.

To make it appear that none of all these things have been by our adversaries proved against the Church of England, though it would be no very difficult, yet would it be a very tedious business. For to do it effectually, I should be obliged to examine not only all the particulars of their charge, but also the strength or weakness of every argument which they have at any time brought to make it good, which would take up so much time and paper, as the designed brevity of this small treatise cannot allow. I shall therefore waive this, and instead thereof, take a more short and compendious, but every way as effectual a course. It is acknowledged by all, that when an adversary is pressed with an absurdity which he cannot escape, the argument is conclusive against him. If therefore I can make it appear, that it is a thing impossible for our adversaries, according to their own notion of heresy, to make good their charge against the Church of England, I may safely conclude, that they have never done it, because they could not do that which is impossible to be done.

A thing is then said to be impossible, either when it is simply and absolutely so in itself, or when it is so only upon supposition ; it is then said to be simply and absolutely impossible, when it implies a contradiction, or is altogether repugnant to the nature of the thing. As for instance—that one and the same body may be in more places than one, at one and the same time, is a proposition so repugnant and contradictory to the nature of bodies, that he must be wilfully blind, who doth not see an impossibility therein. A thing may be also said to be impossible, upon supposition of an incapacity or insufficiency either in the active or passive power, in the efficient, or matter that is to be wrought upon. Though the thing be possible in itself, yet if

the agent be not of sufficient power to produce the effect designed, it is impossible upon that account. As for instance—if ten unarmed men should undertake to beat ten thousand well appointed and well disciplined soldiers in open field, it is possible indeed that those ten thousand may be beaten, but not by those ten, because they have not power sufficient to do it. Again, a thing may be said to be impossible, upon supposition of an incapacity in the passive power or matter that is to be wrought upon, for if the subject matter be wholly incapable of receiving such an impression, as the agent would stamp upon it, though there may be no defect in the active power, yet in respect of the passive, there is an impossibility. Let us now apply this to the case in hand.

The Church of Rome chargeth the Church of England with the guilt of heresy ; and the question is, whether they can make good this charge against her ? I do not question the power of our adversaries to do the thing, if it were to be done ; but if it be not to be done, then, notwithstanding the sufficiency of their power, there is an incapacity in the subject they are to work upon, which renders their attempt impossible. If therefore I do make it appear, that it is impossible for them to prove this against us, it will be a fair justification of the minor proposition in all the foregoing arguments, and consequently a clear discharge of the Church of England from that foul aspersion so unjustly cast upon her by the Church of Rome. Now this I shall endeavour to make good in this manner.

The notion of heresy here laid down, I have made appear to be that which is allowed by them as well as us, and therefore that must be the standard we are to be tried by. Their work therefore will be to make it manifest, that there are some doctrines received, believed, and taught by the Church of England, which are errors in the foundation of religion, and those obstinately defended and maintained by her. Now the only way to know what doctrines are received, believed, and taught by any Church, or society of Christians, is to have recourse to the public acts and authentic records of that Church or society ; and that is no difficult task, for ours are made public and exposed to the view of all. And if they know not what we own as authentic records, I shall here inform them. 1. The holy Scripture is the foundation of our faith, and the rule of our religion. 2. The Thirty-nine Articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London in the year 1562, which are partly positive, and partly negative,

where they declare the faith and religion of the Church of England, they are positive, and where they reject the additions, alterations, and innovations of the Church of Rome, they may be termed negative. 3. The Book of Homilies, wherein the doctrines of our Church briefly declared in the Articles, are more largely explained. These are the public acts and authentic records, wherein the doctrines of the Church of England are to be found, for she publicly declares,* that all things necessary to salvation are contained in the holy Scripture, and that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. She also declares,† that the three Creeds, the Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture. Unless therefore our adversaries can find heresy in the holy Scripture, or in the articles of faith summarily contained in the three ancient Creeds, it will be impossible for them to find it in the Church of England, because she doth not receive, believe, or teach any other doctrine but what is contained therein, or may be proved thereby. This is that faith and common Christianity which we received from Christ and his Apostles, and which we resolve (by God's grace) to hold fast. This is that which hath been always held and taught by the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. This is the foundation upon which our religion is built, viz. upon the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. And therefore, unless they can shake this foundation, unless they will impeach Christ and his Apostles, unless they will charge the whole Church of God with the guilt of heresy, all their attempts and batteries levelled against us, will be vain and fruitless. The Church of England will still stand like a rock, against which those waves may break themselves, whilst she remains unbroken by them.

Thus you see, how impossible it is for our adversaries to make good their charge against the Church of England ; and if they cannot do it, we may safely conclude they have not done it ; and if they neither have, nor can do it, then is it a foul aspersion by them unjustly cast upon us. For which their unjust, uncharitable, and unchristian censure, I pray God forgive them.

* Art. 6.

† Art. 8.

Having thus secured that post which was most likely to be attacked by the enemy, I shall now take the boldness to make a short sally upon them, and take an account of their strength, by considering some of the most material arguments which have been offered by their champions to make good their charge.

Arg. 1. Pope Nicholas (as I find him cited by Bishop Jewel, in the defence of his Apology, p. 2.) makes short work of it, and very magisterially doth at once determine the whole matter, for (saith he) “ Whoso denieth the privilege and supremacy of the see of Rome, hath renounced the faith, and is an heretic.”*

Answ. To this I answer, 1. If the privilege and supremacy of the see of Rome be an article of faith, we desire to know in which of the three Creeds, or in what part of the Bible, we may find it, for we would not willingly be wanting in our compliance with any article of faith. 2. If this be so, then the Council of Chalcedon, consisting of 630 bishops and reverend fathers, gathered together from all parts of the world, was a pack of heretics, for they gave equal privileges to the see of Constantinople with that of Rome. 3. If this be so, then Pope Gregory the Great (and I take him to be altogether as infallible as Pope Nicholas) was an heretic, for he calleth him, who usurps such an arrogant style, the fore-runner of Antichrist. 4. If subjection to the see of Rome be a necessary part in the definition of heresy, then all the Christians in the world, except those of the Roman communion, are heretics, for all of them, as well as we, do unanimously oppose the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Arg. 2. Their angelical doctor, and canonized saint, St. Thos. Aquinas, thus argueth—“ When a matter is once determined by the authority of the Catholic Church, if any one shall obstinately gainsay such determination, he is to be reputed an heretic; which authority (saith he) doth principally reside in the Pope.”†

Answ. This argument is founded upon several false suppositions, viz. 1. That the Church of Rome is the Catholic Church, which we cannot consent to, because we cannot believe that a part is the whole. 2. That the determinations of that Church

* De Major et Obed. unam sanctam, dist. 22, omnes. [Jewel's Works, Oxford, 1848, vol. iv. p. 143.]

† 22. q. 11. 2, 3.

are obligatory to all other Churches. This we cannot agree with him in, because *par in parem non habet imperium*, equals have no authority over one another. 3. That the authority of the Catholic Church is principally lodged in the bishop of Rome. This we cannot believe, because we have no warrant for it, either from the holy Scripture, or from the four first General Councils, or from any authentic antiquity.

Arg. 3. Protestants are heretics, because they oppose divers truths propounded for divine by the visible Church.

Answ. This argument is also supported by these false suppositions: 1. That to oppose any truth propounded by the Church is heresy. This we deny. We grant indeed, that to oppose any truth, howsoever or by whomsoever propounded, is an error: but it cannot be called an heresy, unless it be such a truth as is an essential part of the Gospel of Christ. 2. That the doctrines of the Church of Rome, which are opposed by Protestants, are divine truths. This we take to be a false supposition, for we do not oppose any truth, much less any divine truth that is held by them, but only such false and new invented articles as are by them superadded to the Catholic faith. 3. That whatsoever is propounded by the Church of Rome, is propounded by the visible Church. This we cannot allow, because we know that the Church of Rome is but a part, and, God knows, a corrupted part too, of the visible Church.

Arg. 4. The visible Church is judge of controversies, and therefore infallible. To oppose her therefore is to oppose God. This Protestants do, and therefore are guilty of heresy.

Answ. It is here taken for granted, 1. That the visible Church is judge of controversies. 2. That she is infallible. 3. That the Roman Church is this visible Church. 4. That to oppose her, is to oppose God. All which suppositions are matters of dispute between us, and yet undetermined, and therefore very insufficient grounds to build such a charge upon.

Arg. 5. Want of succession of bishops and pastors holding always the same doctrine, and of the forms of ordaining bishops and priests, which are in use in the Roman Church, is a certain mark of heresy. But Protestants want all these things; therefore, &c.

Answ. We deny the major. For—1. Nothing but want of truth, and holding error, can make or prove a man or church to be heretical. 2. Because it is not a succession of persons but of doctrine, that can secure a Church from heresy. And

to such a succession there are two things necessary. 1. That there be an agreement with the Apostles' doctrine. 2. That there be an uninterrupted conveyance of it down to them who challenge it : both which we have.

Arg. 6. Protestants have forsaken a Church confessedly very ancient, and besides which, there could be demonstrated no other visible Church of Christ upon earth ; therefore, &c.

Answ. To this I answer—1. That against God and truth there lies no prescription, and therefore it is great wisdom to forsake ancient errors for more ancient truths. 2. That there are many other visible Churches of Christ upon earth besides the Roman.

These are the most material arguments I have yet met with, by which our adversaries have attempted to make good their charge of heresy against us ; and how rotten a foundation these are to build such a mighty superstructure upon, I shall now leave to the impartial reader to judge. And because I design brevity, and am unwilling to draw out this discourse to too great a length, I shall now hasten to a conclusion.

THE CONCLUSION.

In this discourse I have laid down such a notion of heresy, as is generally received and owned by our adversaries themselves, and by that have strictly examined the charge which they bring against us ; and I hope have made it very plain and manifest, that the imputation of heresy to the Church of England, is a foul aspersion, and cannot, without great injustice, be cast upon her : which is the only thing I have undertaken to make good in this short treatise.

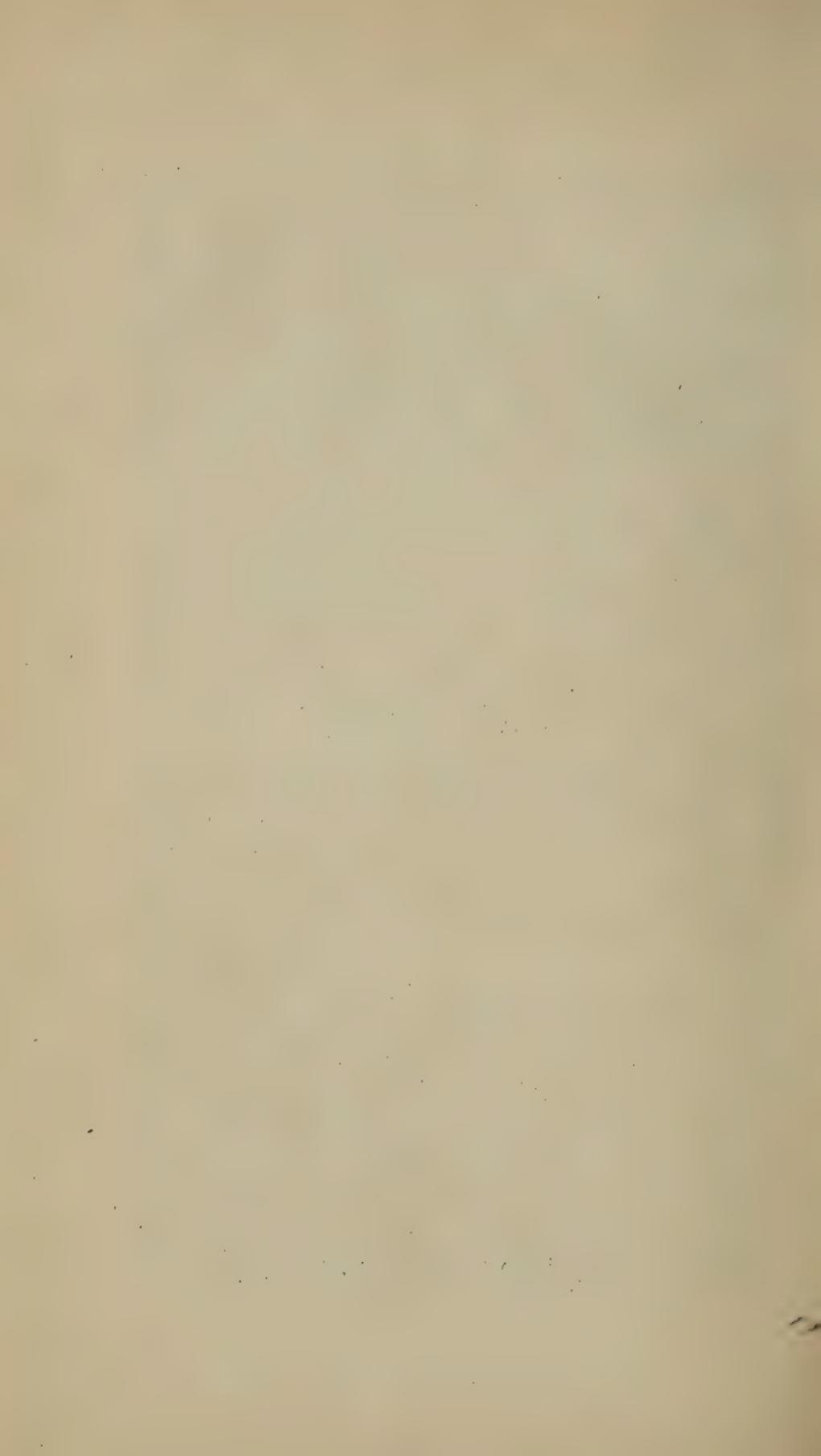
I am heartily sorry that there should be any occasion for a discourse of this nature ; I am a great lover of peace and truth, and do greatly abhor both schism and heresy ; by the former of which the Church's peace is disturbed, and her members crumbled into parties and factions ; and by the latter of which, her truth is sullied, her doctrine perverted, and the whole frame of religion put out of order. And therefore I do earnestly pray, (as my dear mother the Church of England has taught me) that all those who have erred and are deceived, may be brought into the way of truth, and that unity, peace, and concord may flourish in all nations. I have no pleasure in strife and debates ; and if I were not commanded to contend ear-

nestly for the faith, which was once delivered to the saints, should be very unwillingly drawn to engage in them. But when I meet with a loud and ungrounded clamour, branding those who embrace and endeavour to hold fast the holy Catholic faith, with the odious names of schismatics and heretics, I cannot forbear, according to my poor ability, to stand up in the defence of injured innocency and abused truth. This is that which I did design, and have attempted to do, in both the parts of this discourse ; and if our adversaries be angry with me for it, I cannot help it, nor am I much concerned at it. But if, through weakness or inadvertency, I have failed in my design, or not defended the Church of England so well as I ought, and as one more able might have done, from those foul aspersions, which have been so unjustly cast upon her, I humbly beg her pardon, and do freely submit both myself and undertaking to her censure, well knowing, that she is an indulgent mother, and will put a favourable construction upon what was well meant.

I shall conclude all with a passionate entreaty, and earnest request, both to those of the Roman, and those of our own communion, that they would all devoutly join with me in this humble and hearty prayer to Almighty God,

“ From all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion ; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism ; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment, [Good Lord deliver us.]

END OF VOL. I.



ERRATA.

Page 12, ¶ pro *Toínov* lege *Toínvv*.

„ 32, * pro διάχονος lege διάκονος.

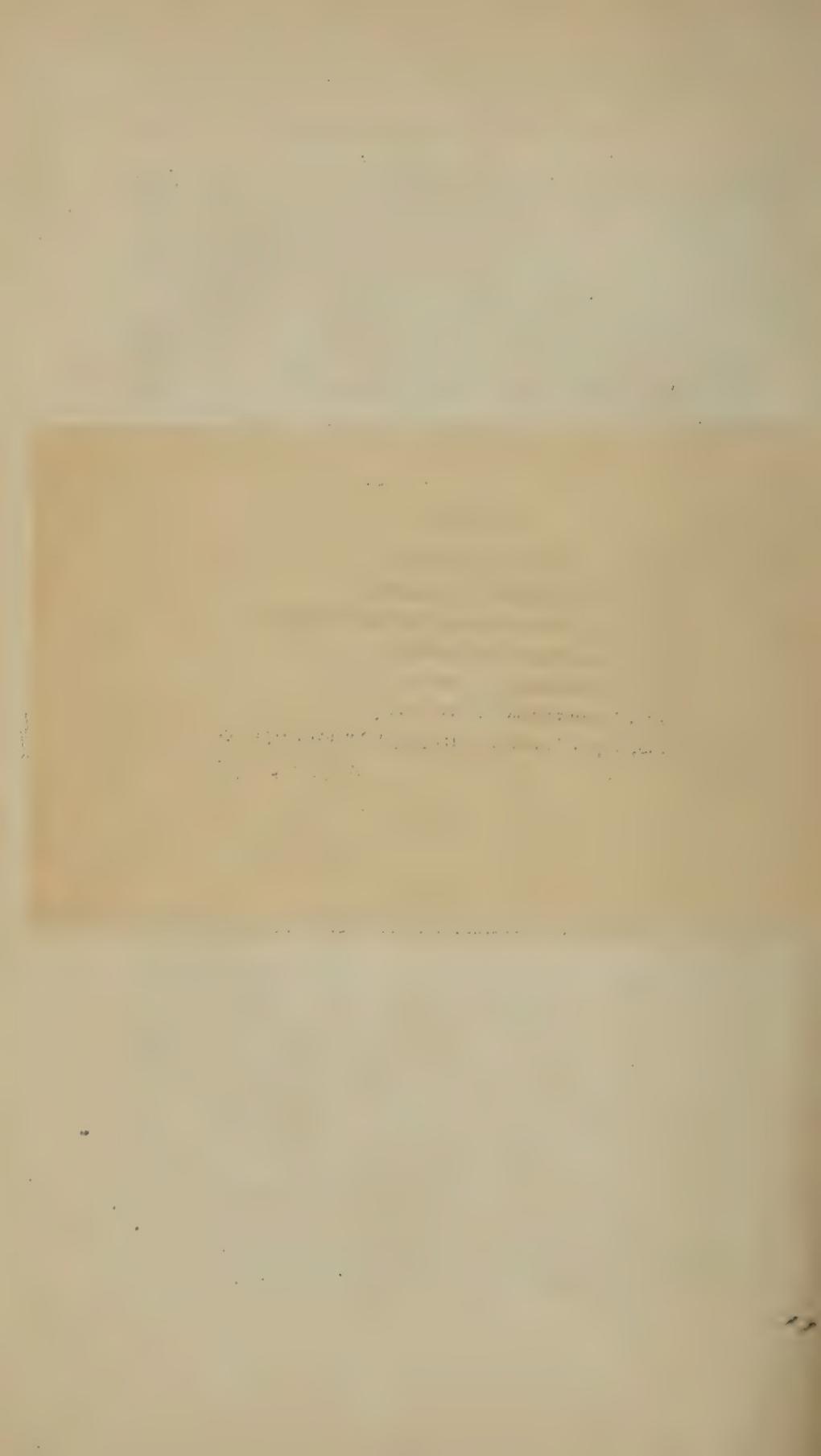
„ 151, † pro Ἱερος ολύμποις lege Ἱεροσολύμοις.

„ 222, * pro τοιῆτε lege ποιῆτε.

„ 224, † pro δυνάνενός lege δυνάμενος.

„ 309, * pro τοῦτοι lege τοῦτο.

„ 369, † pro Αυτοκατάκειτος lege Αυτοκατάκριτος.



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